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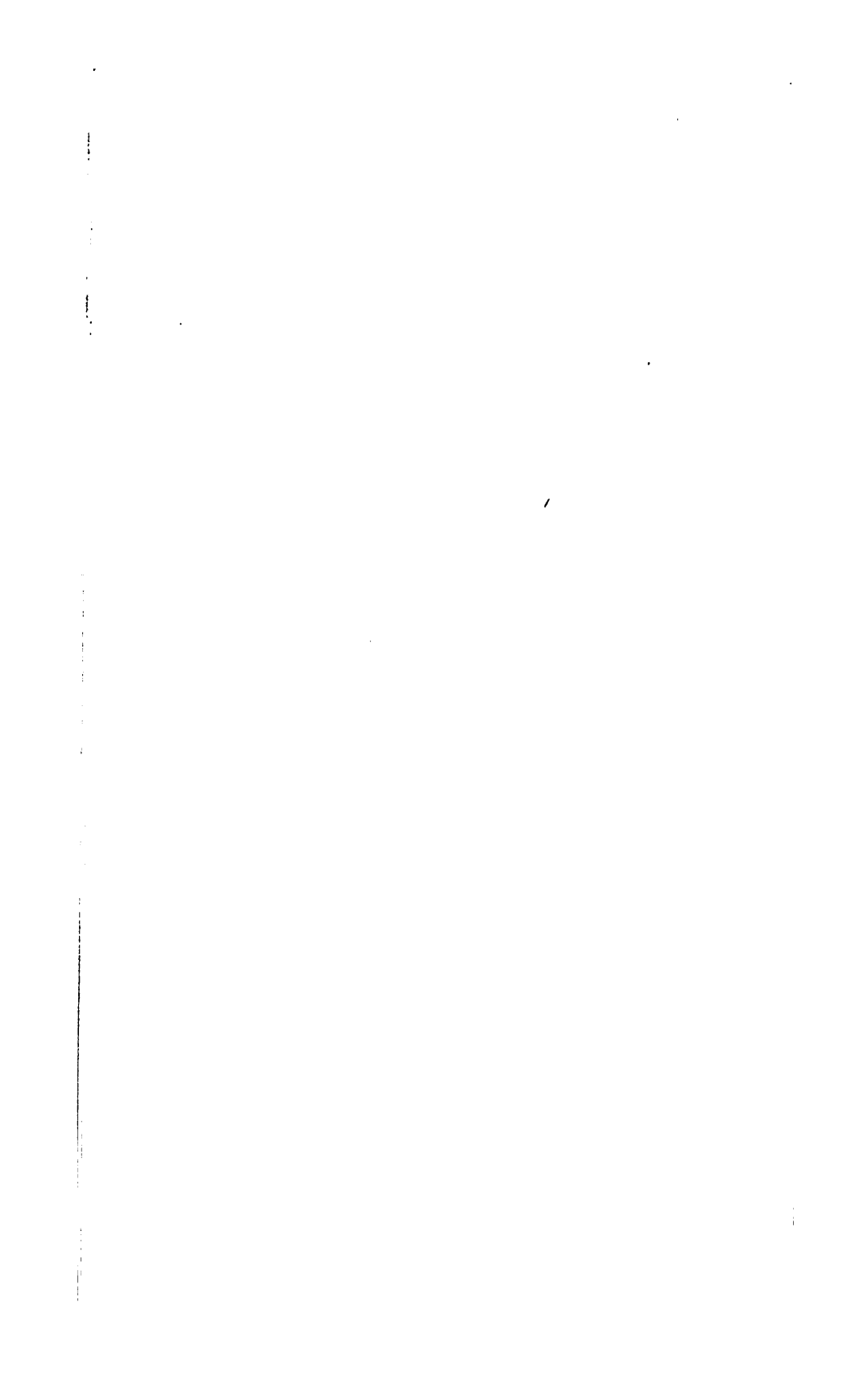


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George Bancroft

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P. 11



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THE
POLITICAL REGISTER,

AND
IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF
NEW BOOKS.

FOR MDCCLXVIII.

1765

VOLUME THE THIRD.

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. BEEVOY, in Little-Britain.

1768.

M&N

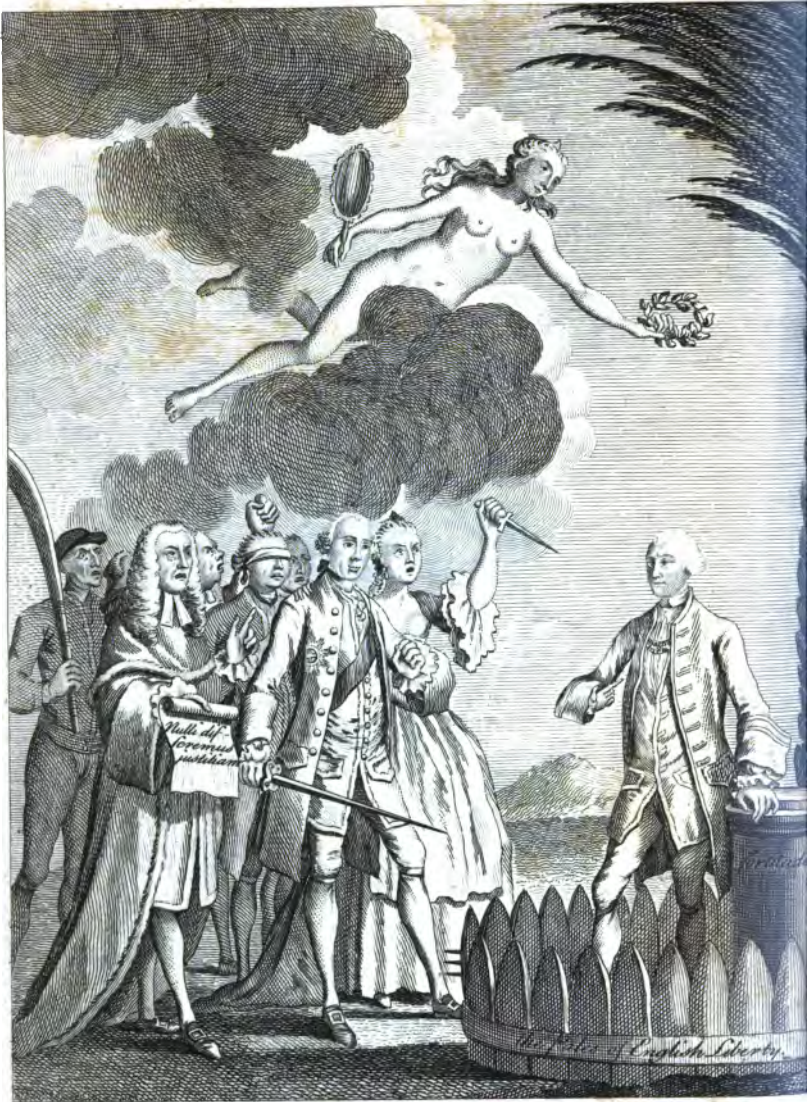


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Malice and Fortitude.



*There is no terror in your threats;
For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
That they pass by me, as the idle wind,
Which I respect not——*

Shakespeare.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For J U L Y 1768.

N U M B E R. XVI.

A S P E E C H.

IF the noble lord, who is so anxious to have the doors of the house constantly shut against strangers, had contented himself with insisting, that there is a standing order to this effect, and that a standing order should be strictly observed, I should have thought it my duty to submit to his lordship's motion, though I confess with some reluctance. But when the noble lord, not satisfied with an authority paramount to all argument, thinks it necessary to give reasons for his opinion, he seems to admit that the point is at least disputable; therefore I hope he will permit me to offer some reasons to the house, why I differ from him entirely.

The only tolerable pretence for refusing admittance to strangers of decent appearance and behaviour, is, lest there should not be room for the members to attend to business with ease and convenience to themselves. Whenever this happens, and we all know how seldom it does happen, every member has a right (and I dare say his lordship will seldom fail to make use of it) to move that the house may be cleared. In every other light, I think that, so far from being offended at the presence of strangers, we should wish to have as many

witnesses as possible of all our proceedings. What his lordship's motives may be, I cannot pretend to determine; but, for my own part, as I am neither ashamed nor afraid of what I say in this house, I care not how soon, or how universally it is reported abroad. We are not a council of state, nor is it our business to deliberate upon or direct the secret operations of government, though it be our duty sometimes to enquire into them. We are the representatives of the people, and in effect a popular assembly. To aim at secrecy in our debates, would not only be a vain and ridiculous attempt, but, I apprehend, absolutely contrary to the principles upon which this house is constituted. It would be turning a democratical assembly into the form of an aristocracy. The nobility of Venice wisely bar the doors of their senate-house, because they are not the representatives, but the tyrants of the people. Such a policy may be prudent and necessary, where the interests of a few who govern, are different from those of the many, who are governed. But I flatter myself, the noble lord will not insinuate, that the house of ——— and the people of Great Britain have different or separate interests from each other, or that we can have any views, which it may import us to conceal from our constituents. Such a case may possibly happen hereafter, but I am sure it cannot be said with any appearance of truth of the present house of ———. His lordship tells us, that by admitting strangers to hear our debates, the speeches of the members are soon carried abroad and generally misrepresented. Perhaps it may be so; but will barring our doors prevent that inconvenience? does he think that in an assembly of above five hundred persons, the discourses held here will *not* be carried abroad, will *not* be misrepresented? the members of this house are neither bound to secrecy, nor is our memory or judgment infallible. But if his anxiety turns chiefly upon this point, I would wish him to consider that a stranger, who sits quietly in the gallery, is much more likely to retain, with exactness, what he comes on purpose to hear, than a member who perhaps is interested in the debate, and who probably hears the arguments on one side with prejudice, while he listens with partiality to those of the other. Shall we then, sir, without any reasonable motive whatsoever, give this house the appearance of a foreign inquisition? shall it be said that a British house of ——— makes laws for the people, as some slavish courts of judicature abroad try state criminals, *januis clausis*? To the honour of our courts of justice, they are open to all mankind to make them respectable in the eyes of the people. We are not indeed a court of judicature, but every
argument

argument for opening the courts in Westminster-hall operates with equal or greater force upon us. We are a popular assembly.-- There is nothing secret in the nature of our business.-- By publishing our votes we admit that the nation has a right to be informed of our proceedings.-- But above all, it is of the highest importance to the people to know the sentiments and conduct of each particular member, that they may be able to form a just judgment of our integrity and ability, and in what manner we support the interests of our constituents. And shall motives such as these have no weight with us? Shall our inhospitable doors be closed, because one member is afraid of being misrepresented? I wish the noble lord were as cautious of what he writes in other places, as of what he says here. But in that respect he has taken care to be perfectly safe. The military manifesto, which he has thought proper to give under his hand, is too plain to be misunderstood, and too bad to be misrepresented.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

THE great Mr. Locke, in his treatise on Government, well observes, that if the executive power shall ever presume to interfere in matters of election, and to make use of those very offices, and revenues, with which it was originally vested for the reward of merit, to operate upon the minds of timid electors of representatives in parliament, then and in that case the executive power must overwhelm the legislative, and be soon buried in the ruins of both.

If the name and power of the executive part of government be made use of by a minister or his agents, in elections, it alters not the case, and is a high affront offered to the sacred majesty of the constitution of a free country.

If boroughs will dispose of their power of electing two representatives to the highest bidders, this only shews a total dissolution of virtue and morals in such boroughs; and they need not wonder at their representatives selling themselves to successive administrations, when they must remember how dear their favours cost them. But if the executive power shall presume to give a sanction to such proceedings, and not demonstrate a worthy resentment, at such prostitutions of authority, then indeed that fatal period, foretold by Montesquieu, will arrive, when (writes that great author) the

executive part shall, by the immensity of its wealth and power, be able to secure at all times a majority in parliament; and, that no remedy can be found for this, by reason of the venality of the individuals; then the constitution of such a country must be entirely changed, as the balance will then be lost in the state, and all means to restore it rendered fruitless.

In the reign of queen Anne, an attempt was made to operate in a most unusual way on the freedom of parliaments; by the sudden introduction of twelve peers into the upper house, to serve a particular job; this violent exertion of prerogative was disagreeable to the whole nation; but then it could not be alledged that it was illegal. Now sixteen peers are created, as it may well be said, at the beginning of every parliament; and yet so callous and so stupid are people in general, that they do not perceive it, though it is one of the most dangerous invasions that ever was made, and is now settled by a long prescription. What puts me on this train of argument to-day, is a letter sent me by a correspondent yesterday, which, for the amusement of your readers, you may insert as follows:

“S I R,

AS you have a great gusto for fresh intelligence of a political nature, I have taken the earliest opportunity of transmitting to you, an account of the proceedings of, what is commonly called, the election of sixteen of the Scottish peerage at Edinburgh, to represent that community; (in other words the *Congé d'Elire, pour Ecosse*.) I happened to be in Scotland at the time, and as I write the short hand as well, I believe, as any of that posse who came down to Edinburgh, on the occasion of the Douglas cause, I am enabled to give you a description authentic enough of the business, and of the earl of Buchan's protest, which, for the honour of Scotland, I beg leave just to observe, was neither signed nor seconded by one of that illustrious fraternity, nor did one peer adventure to vote for lord Buchan in preference to lord J——e, although that lord was totally unknown, and that the earl had offered himself, above six weeks before, on the basis of a free election; but I add no more: “Let the stricken deer go weep.”

When it came to the vote of the earl of Buchan, his lordship stood up, and said, “My lords, Without the least deference to the minister or his agents, I vote for the following peers:

1. The

1. The Duke of Gordon.
2. The duke of Argyl.
3. The duke of Atholl.
4. The earl of Morton.
5. The earl of Buchan.
6. The earl of Eglington.
7. The earl of Strathmore.
8. The earl of Abercorn.
9. The earl of Loudon.
10. The earl of March.
11. The earl of Marchmont.
12. The earl of Dunmore.
13. The earl of Roseberry.
14. The earl of Bute.
15. Lord viscount Stormont.
16. The lord Cathcart."

After the election his lordship entered the following protest, which they had the m——s to refuse to put in the minutes.

P R O T E S T.

I David, earl of Buchan, being unwilling that my name, or the names of such peers of Scotland, as may think proper to adhere to this my protest, should be handed down to posterity, as joining or acquiescing in a ministerial and unconstitutional nomination of sixteen peers to represent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, do protest, in my own name, and in the names of all those who shall adhere to this my protestation, That, whereas a list of sixteen peers for Scotland has been framed, long before the time of this election, by persons in high trust under the crown, and that such lists have been in a most scandalous manner called by the most sacred name of the *King's List*, to the prostitution of that most venerable authority, which it is well known cannot be used constitutionally in matters of election, declared to be free by the most important charters of British liberty. And, likewise, when we consider, that this list has been daringly shewn by the minister to several peers now present in this assembly, and the contents of it supported and conveyed, by still more daring agents, to other peers likewise now present, to the subversion of the freedom of election, by intimidating those who were to give their suffrages for sixteen men, who are to be vested with the deposit of the liberties of the order, and capable of operating, in a most remarkable manner, upon the liberties

liberties of the — — —, and of the nation in general, when we consider these matters, we cannot but be filled with the highest indignation, at the attempts, which have been but too successfully made, to reduce the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland to a mere ministerial nomination, at once disgraceful to the community, and subversive of the freedom of parliaments.

BUCHAN."

I shall make no comment on what is gone before, and shall only add, that I am your constant reader—

JOHN BULL.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

THE following is an authentic paper, and very well worthy the attention of the public, who must be curious to see the state of population in the countries of our natural enemies. In a work like the Political Register, calculated to promote political enquiry of every kind, it certainly merits a place; and though in this country it is impossible to come at an account of the same kind, it may induce some of your correspondents to enquire in their respective counties, what the numbers are (and what the age of every individual) of those between sixteen and forty-five, who are returned as being able to serve their country in the militia.

I am, S I R,

A Well-Wisher to your Work.

Denom-

Dénombrement Général des Habitans du Royaume de France (en 1767.)
(Non compris les Habitans de la Ville de Paris, non plus que ceux des Provinces de Lorraine & Barrois) d'après les recherches faites par Mr. L'Abbé Expilly.

To

Nombre des enfans au deffous d'un An actuellement vivans	Enfans au deffous d'un An et au deffus de 3 Ans.	Jeuneffe Entre 10 & 15 Ans Entre 15 & 20 Ans	Entre 25 & 30 Ans Entre 30 & 35 Ans Entre 35 & 40 Ans Entre 40 & 45 Ans Entre 45 & 50 Ans de 50 à 55 Ans de 55 à 60 Ans de 60 à 65 Ans de 65 à 70 Ans de 70 à 75 Ans de 75 à 80 Ans Au deffus de 80 Ans	Totaux réunis	Total des Habitans de la Ville et des Faubourgs de Paris	Total des Habitans des Provinces de Lorraine & Barrois	Total général and complete des Habitans du Royaume de France
306799	301350	3615238	3648009	7263247	600000	620000	22014337
561502	571489						
564859	575543						
1105162	1114444						
1075916	1088183						
920652	934872	920652	934872	2655524			
784550	893477						
748476	858525						
730456	814393	3918194	4401187	8310381			
636021	692350						
573308	636259						
445583	506183						
402033	481491						
315231	387064	1189362	1496611	2685973			
296582	381862						
175516	246194						
131359	190851	206652	312077	518729			
75293	112226	56567	94936	151503			
56567	94936						
990665	1088762	990665	1088762	20794357			
					20794357		
						600000	
						620000	
							22014337

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

Dublin, May 19, 1768.

In your number for January last you presented the public with the copy of a curious plan for augmenting the army in Ireland. The affair was at that time a particular secret; I suppose from a childish delicacy to the great person who is said to have been the author of it. But a few months have disclosed a wonderful scene.

The matter was first opened to the house of commons on the 19th of April, 1768, by a message from the lord lieutenant in the following words :

T O W N S H E N D.

Gentlemen,

I AM commanded by his majesty to inform you, that the public service of his majesty's kingdoms requiring that some part of the troops, kept on the establishment of Ireland, should be employed towards the necessary defence of his majesty's garrisons and plantations abroad; and that, as it may be expedient that a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, should be kept within this kingdom, for the better defence of the same, exclusive of such regiments on this establishment as are or may be employed in his majesty's said garrisons and plantations; his majesty thinks it necessary that his army on this establishment should be augmented to fifteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five men in the whole; of which number it is his majesty's intention, that, as far as is consistent with such a defence as the safety of both kingdoms, in case of any sudden or extraordinary emergency, may require, a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, shall be kept within this kingdom, for the better defence of the same: And his majesty having the firmest reliance on the known loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, cannot entertain the least doubt but they will cheerfully concur in providing for a measure calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of his crown, to promote the public service, and to add strength to his army in this kingdom, which has hitherto been so much weakened by frequent draughting.

I have ordered a plan and estimate of the charge which will be incurred by this augmentation, formed with as much precision

Scheme for the military establishment of Ireland. 9

cision as possible, to be laid before you ; and you may be assured that particular care shall be taken, that this service shall be performed with the utmost oeconomy ; and that, of the sums which shall be granted, no greater part shall be raised, than shall appear to be absolutely necessary for the purpose.

T.

The following is the S C H E M E.

Scheme proposed for the military establishment of Ireland.

<i>1768. Present Establishment.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>		<i>Numbers.</i>
H ORSE	4	-	664
Heavy dragoons	5	-	972
Light dragoons	3	-	531
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total cavalry	12	<i>Numbers.</i>	2167
Reg. of foot in Ireland	24	7865	
Ditto on foreign service	6	1966	9831
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total present establishm.	42	-	11998

Augmentation to each of the twenty-seven regiments of infantry, of which the establishment is to consist of a quartermaster, nine serjeants, nine corporals, nine drummers, two fifers, and one hundred and twenty-six private men — 4212

Add six mates for those regiments for whom mates are not provided by the establishment — 6 — 4218

16216

From which deduct three regiments of foot, without mates that are to be discontinued — 981

Numbers of which the establishment is to consist, according to his majesty's plan — — 15235

N. B. Twenty-two regiments of foot are to remain in Ireland, furnishing four companies for the Isle of Man, and only five regiments of foot on foreign service are to be continued upon this establishment.

10 *Scheme for the military establishment of Ireland.*

Distribution of the army upon the establishment of Ireland, according to the above plan.

<i>Troops and companies.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Numbers including officers.</i>
24	4 horse	664
33	5 heavy dragoons	972
18	3 light dragoons	531
198	22 battalions of infantry	10648
<hr/>		
273	34 Total to remain in Ireland, furnishing four companies for the life of Man	12815
45	5 Regiments now to remain on service abroad	2420
<hr/>		
318	Total 39 Army establishment of Ireland, horse dragoons, and foot	15235

Numbers of which a battalion of foot, with a mate, consists, at the present establishment.

Field officers	—	3
Captains	—	6
Lieutenants	—	10
Ensigns	—	8
Staff officers and mate	—	4
Scrjeants	—	18
Corporals	—	18
Drummers	—	9
Private men	—	252
Total		328

l. s. d.

Annual charge of the said regiment and its war-rant men ——— 8215 10 10

Number of which each battalion of foot will consist when augmented.

Field officers	—	3
Captains	—	6
Lieutenants	—	10
Ensigns	—	8
Chaplain, adjutant, quartermaster, surgeon, and mate	—	5
carried over		32

Serjeants

Scheme for the military establishment of Ireland.

11

	Brought over	32
Serjeants	—	27
Corporals	—	27
Drummers	—	18
Fifers	—	2
Private men	—	378
Total		484

Annual charge of the said battalion, and its warrant men	—	—	—	10445	1	8
Charge of a battalion, and its warrant men, upon the present establishment	—	—	—	8215	10	10

Increase of annual expence	—	2229	10	10
----------------------------	---	------	----	----

Annual difference of expence upon the augmentation of the twenty-seven regiments of foot, each at 2229 l. 10 s. 10 d. — 60197 12 6

From which deducting the annual pay of three regiments at their present numbers, but without mates and their warrant men, which are to be discontinued upon this establishment 24509 15 0

Remains — 35687 17 6

Annual pay of six mates, which must be provided for upon the establishment — 273 15 0

Total annual additional charge to the establishment — 35961 12 6

Estimate of the sum that will be necessary to provide for the levy money, arms, accoutrements, and extraordinary appointment of a quarter master, nine serjeants, nine corporals, nine drummers, two fifers, and one hundred twenty-six private men, with which each of the twenty-seven regiments of foot upon this establishment is to be augmented, and for their pay, together with that of six additional mates, from the 1st day of January, 1769, when they are to be placed upon the military establishment of Ireland, to the 31st day of December following, inclusive.

Numbers of non-commissioned officers and private men, with which each regiment is to be augmented — 155

12 *Scheme for the military establishment of Ireland.*

Brought over 155

From which deduct the additional contingent man that is to be allowed in each company — — 9

146

At 5l. 8s. 4d. levy money for each man, 790l. 16s. 8d. for each regiment.

And making for 3942 men, for augmenting twenty-seven regiments of foot, 21352l. 10s. 0d.

Arms, accoutrements, and extraordinary cloathing for each regiment.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
9 Serjeants halberts each at	0	11	4½	5	2	4½			
9 Ditto swords	0	10	0	4	10	0			
9 Ditto fashies	0	7	6	3	7	6			
9 Drums and cases	1	15	0	15	15	0			
9 Drum carriages	0	6	6	2	18	6			
9 Drummers swords	0	5	0	2	5	0			
2 Fifes, &c.	1	4	8½	2	9	5			
2 Fifers swords	0	5	0	0	10	0			
14 Grenadiers swords	0	5	0	3	10	0			
126 Firelocks and bayonets	1	15	0	220	10	0			
126 Cartouch boxes	0	2	8½	17	1	3			
126 Sets of buff accoutrements	0	14	0	88	4	0			
146 Waistcoats	0	7	8½	56	5	5			
146 Shirts and rollers	0	3	6	25	11	0			
146 Pair of stockings	0	1	3	9	2	6			

Total expence for arms, accoutrements, and extra cloathing, for the augmentation to each regiment

457 1 11½

Total expence for arms, accoutrements, and extra cloathing, for the augmentation to 27 regiments of foot, each at 457l. 1s. 11½d.

12341 12 10½

Total carried over 33694 2 10½

Arguments against the Scheme.

13

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	33694	2	10½
Daily pay of the augmentation to each regiment of foot.		l.	s. d.
A quarter master	0	4	8
9 Serjeants, each at 1s. 6d.	0	13	6
9 Corporals, each at 1s.	0	9	0
9 Drummers, each at 1s.	0	9	0
2 Fifers, each at 1s.	0	2	0
126 Private men, each at 8d.	4	4	0
		6	2 2
Augmentation to 26 regiments more, each at 6l. 2s. 2d.	158	16	4
	164	18	6
Daily pay of six mates, that are to be added to the establishment, at 2s. 6d. a day	0	15	0
Total daily pay of the augmentation to 27 regiments of foot, and to the six mates, added to the establishment	165	13	6
Making for one year, from the 1st of January, 1769, to 31st of December, 1769	60471	7	6
From which, deduct the pay of the three regiments, which are to be discontinued for the like period	24509	15	0
Annual additional charge of pay	35961	12	6
Total sum necessary to be provided to the 31st day of December, 1769	69655	15	4½

When the affair came into the house, it was warmly debated. But upon the question being put, the proposed augmentation was lost by a majority of *four*.

The following is an abridgment of the arguments against the measure.

The motives, which actuated many, and must have weight with all, against an *augmentation* of our *military* establishment, arise from a conviction of its being a long-studied deep-laid plan, to engage us in a vast, an endless, an intolerable expence, for a merely ministerial measure; which, with regard

gard to us, and the circumstances of this kingdom, is unlawful and unreasonable, unnecessary and useless, dangerous and dishonourable.

The expence calculated in the scheme prepared for the occasion, for raising 3235 men additional to our present number, is 70000 l. and for maintaining them 35,000 l. a year; but persons of skill and candour have proved, that the immediate expence cannot be less than 100,000 l. nor the yearly charge than 40,000 l. the interest of a million at a very low rate. Were there no other exception to this proposal, but the disingenuity of the calculations it is founded on, that single circumstance, so just a ground for suspicion, ought to create doubts sufficient to overthrow the whole; but supposing no fraud was intended, who will consent to encrease a load, we are already unable to bear? Our annual military charge is now little short of 500,000 l. if to this be added the vast, the injurious, the hateful burthen, which besides we groan beneath, over and above the just and necessary supplies, will any friend of Ireland think we can afford to plunge into a debt of above 1,100,000 l. for an addition of 3000 men to our present useless and offensive army?

Our civil list is now computed to stand us in near 130,000 l. a year; the military near 500,000 l. extraordinaries near 170,000 l. total annual expence, near 800,000 l. our whole revenue (exclusive of the loan duties, barely sufficient for the interest of the national debt) is about 600,000 l. a year; and consequently there is an annual exceeding of near 200,000 l. The yearly sum of 200,000 l. is equal to the interest of five million of money. Supposing then our annual exceedings of expence were never to encrease, as it constantly does, and that it will always continue, as there is no hope of the contrary; we may consider the nation to be sunk in fact, by those yearly exceedings, into an actual debt of five millions. Our acknowledged debt is 650,000 l. besides the 100,000 l. vote of credit last session, and the like this winter; so that the whole debt of the nation may and ought to be computed to the prodigious amount of 5,850,000 l. and, under these grievous circumstances, is it not intolerable to be driven into an immediate additional debt of 100,000 l. besides 40,000 l. a year? Our debt is already above our landed income, nor can our trade make up the deficiency; so that we should inevitably be reduced, by the required augmentation, to a state of bankruptcy below beggary 1,100,000 l. worse than nothing.

Upon extraordinary and alarming emergencies, the most parsimonious oeconomist may not be unwilling to unlock his coffers: But the most liberal and generous, especially when
there

there is not the least appearance of any emergency or necessity, should be very cautious in opening to extravagance a door, which, there is just cause to apprehend, could not be shut again, but would be constantly and continually widening; an endless and a growing evil. Our expences are yearly encreasing; and the greatest frides, and grossest abuses, are in our military establishment. The numbers sent abroad from us are every summer greater than the former; and yet this drain of our strength and treasure, hitherto kindly winked at and overlooked, we are now commanded to confirm and augment, without any security, though demanded, that it should not be a growing as well as lasting imposition. It is promised, 'that we shall, on extraordinary emergencies, have at home, for our own defence, a number not less than 12000 men, over and above what may be abroad, on our establishment, if we will consent to keep 3235 always abroad.' But there is no satisfactory assurance, nor even a promise, that we shall certainly have 12000 always on the spot for our defence; or that we shall certainly pay for no more than 3235 men abroad, at any time, for either the defence or oppression of others.

It has been alledged, that we ought to comply with this request, in return for the octennial law and the tax on pensions: We are sensible of those gracious condescensions; and when we are out of debt, shall be no less ready than able to prove our gratitude.—The reduction of the duty on tea has been also mentioned as a saving, which we ought to take into the account: But it happens, that we are obliged to the smugglers for that; and, as no person will drink a drop less of that unwholesome foreign herb for the reduction, it must really be a reduction of our revenue, however justly intended for the encouragement of the fair trader.—There has been also a strange kind of subtle arithmetic invented for this occasion, by which this argument is framed: 'Of 12000 we have now but 5000 at home, and consequently 7000 abroad; so that, when we pay for only 3000 abroad, there will be a saving to the kingdom of the pay of 4000 men;' a computation made with sophistry, and contrived with no honest good design; for if we now pay for 12000 only, and by the augmentation shall be at a vast expence for 15235, what arithmetic can convince us that we save?—Again, it is said, we shall have 3235 honest industrious tradesmen added to the number of protestants of Ireland: But, if we may form our opinion of those intended for the augmentation of our forces from the conduct of many in our army already, we should be glad to be delivered from a set of lawless ruffians, the dregs of Britain, and the bane of this country.

Having

Having thus stated the nature of the expence of this military AUGMENTATION, I shall not hesitate to say, that this long-schemed, hard-pushed augmentation was not only abominably expensive, but illegal and unreasonable, useless and unnecessary, dangerous and dishonourable, and not to be countenanced or admitted by any true friend of

I R E L A N D.

P. S. One thing very remarkable appeared, viz. that in the year 1700, there were twenty-five regiments only of cavalry and infantry upon the establishment, which contained nevertheless twelve thousand men; but that the present establishment, though containing no greater number of men, consists of *forty-two regiments*, which exceeds the establishment of 1700 by *seventeen regiments*, and is more by *six regiments* than was ever before kept up in that kingdom in time of peace. This is the first fruit of octennial parliaments in that kingdom.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Thoughts on the Augmentation of the Army.

AND so, sir, thanks to God! and thanks to the spirited conduct of the Irish parliament, the scheme for augmenting the army is at last happily defeated, or rather indeed crushed in embryo. Upon the miscarriage of this scheme, I sincerely congratulate the public; as, had it succeeded, it might justly have been considered as a very large stride towards the accomplishment of that design, which, there is but too much reason to suspect, the ministry have secretly formed, and intend, as soon as possible, to carry into execution. What I mean, is, the destroying of our free and legal constitution, and the subjecting us to a military and despotic government. For, to what other end should the ministry desire an augmentation of the army, particularly at this time, when all Europe is in a state of the most profound tranquility; and when there is not even the most distant likelihood of that tranquility being very soon disturbed? O! but I had forgot, there are some commotions in Poland; and it is not improbable, that the ministry may have a design of carrying over a body of troops into that kingdom, in order to settle the differences between the Protestants and the Papists. This supposition is the less unnatural, inasmuch as it is well known, that English ministers have frequently adopted schemes of a more romantic and quixotical complexion.

But

But the plain truth, I believe, is, that the ministry, conscious of their own unpopularity, and of the unpopularity of the government, which they have contributed, by their many acts of tyranny and oppression, to render completely odious, are sensible of the necessity of having a larger body of troops, to support them in the possession of their places and their pensions. But if this be their motive in desiring an augmentation of the army, they are likely, I apprehend, to find themselves disappointed. The Irish parliament has already told them, that they shall not have one soldier more from them; and the English parliament, if applied to on the same subject, will, I hope, give them the same answer. The rather, when they observe to what *humane* and *constitutional* purposes the regular forces, we already have, are employed, *viz. murdering and maiming* his majesty's liege subjects. In good earnest, if our own army is to be employed against ourselves, it ought not only, not to be increased; it ought immediately to be disbanded, and not so much as a single soldier left in the kingdom. For if the ministry have really laid a scheme for subjecting us to the galling yoke, a military and despotic government, the regular troops, which they already have, are more than sufficient for the purpose. The English army, including also, that upon the Irish establishment, amounts, if I rightly remember, to forty-six or forty-seven thousand men. But it is well known, that Julius Cæsar seized Rome itself with five thousand, and gained the battle of Pharsalia, and of consequence, the sovereignty of the world with twenty-two thousand; and that most of the revolutions of the Roman and Ottoman empires in latter periods were effected by the Prætorian Bands, and the Court Janizaries; the former of which never exceeded eight, nor the latter twelve thousand men. And if such inconsiderable armies could execute such disturbances in those vast empires, what may not double, or triple, or even quadruple the numbers do in this small kingdom?

In sober sadness, if our ministers be seriously bent upon the ruin of our free government, its ruin, I am afraid, is altogether unavoidable: *Actum est de Republicâ*. Our only hopes of safety lie not in the virtue of our ministers, but in the patriotism of our soldiers; who probably would, in such a case, act like the soldiers of king James the second; who deserted him in numbers, boldly, and even *virtuously broke their military oath*, and preferred the preservation of their religion and liberties, to the gratifying the ambitious or

tyrannical designs of any master whatever. This conclusion, I am the better authorized to draw, on account of their conduct on a late memorable occasion, when, rather than embroil their hands in the blood of their countrymen, many of them ventured, not only to incur the displeasure of their officers, but even to expose themselves to the danger of a severe punishment.

But whatever may have been in times past, or whatever may be for the future, *the patriotism of our soldiers*; I hope it will never be urged as an argument, at least I hope it will never be admitted for a sufficient reason for augmenting the army. Standing armies, ever have been, and ever will be odious in a free government; with the nature of which they are totally inconsistent, and to the very being of which they have always in the end proved fatal. This is a fact so clear and incontestible, that, to undertake to prove it, would be offering an insult to the common sense and understanding of the reader. Rome, in ancient times, and France, in more modern days, are striking instances to this purpose. All the great states of Europe have come into the destructive practice of keeping up such large standing armies, that in a little time they will be in danger of being reduced, like the Tartars, into so many nations of soldiers.

How different from this was the spirit that prevailed in the reign of queen Elizabeth? When the duke of Alençon, who was proposed as a husband to the queen, came over to England, and for some time had admired the riches of the city, the conduct of her government, and the magnificence of her court, he asked her amidst so much splendor, where were her guards? This question she resolved a few days after, as she took him in her coach through the city, when pointing to the people, who received her in crowds with repeated acclamations — *These, said she, my lord, are my guards: these have their bands, their hearts, and their purses, always ready at my command.* When may we expect to see the time, when an English — shall have such entire confidence in the affections of his people, as to have *no other guards but his unarmed subjects?*

Die Lunæ, 15 Die Februarii, 1768.

Upon reading the Order of the Day, an engrossed Bill, intituled an Act for limiting the Duration of Parliaments was read a second Time, and a Debate arising, whether the said Bill should be committed;

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient:

1. **B**Ecause altering a long established constitution found by its effects to be wisely formed is contrary to good policy, as doubtful happiness is only suggested in the place of real and experienced.

2. Because, to judge truly of new systems offered for this country, we can only have recourse to the effects produced, where such policy is established: the allowed effects in a neighbouring kingdom convinces us of the inconveniences which must consequentially arise from frequent elections in Ireland.

3. Because, although the act for the limitation of parliaments should be thought useful and salutary to Great Britain, yet we apprehend, from the different circumstances and situation of this kingdom, it cannot be presumed, it will have the same effect here, at least at present; and rather think that such a law will be extremely detrimental to our infant manufactures, and introduce such corruption, idleness, and licentiousness, as the poverty of this kingdom can in no sort support.

4. Because, from the number of papists, and the frequent insurrections and risings of persons disaffected to our government, we apprehend it more than possible, that a parliament of certain duration may expire in such times of danger as may render it difficult and improper immediately to convene another; and we have rather chose to prevent the consequences, that may arise from our being without a subsisting parliament by giving our dissent to this bill, than to enumerate more particularly those mischiefs and inconveniences which we ardently wish our posterity may never experience by the passing it into a law.

JOCELYN,

ANNALY,

SAMUEL KILLALLA and ACHORNY.

To —————

S I R,

I Here send you the best account my memory will furnish me with, at this distance of time, of the substance of several conversations I formerly had with Mr. S—E—, of Lincoln's Inn, (author of the preface to the State Trials, and the publisher of lord chief justice Hale's History of the Pleas of the Crown) relating to Franklin's prosecution for a libel, for publishing in the *Craftsman* an article of news from *Hanover*.

Franklin was prosecuted upon *information*. As to which method of proceeding, Mr. E—made no scruple of openly declaring his opinion, that it was oppressive and unconstitutional; and the scandalous remains of Star-Chamber practice.

The libel (which is an innocent word of itself) was laid in the information to be *false, scandalous and malicious*; which epithets are the gifts of the information or indictment, and the very circumstance that makes the writing or publication criminal.

Franklin's council, in his defence, offered to prove the truth of the libel. But the court would not suffer it; alledging, that its being true was so far from a justification, that it was an aggravation of the crime.

Mr. E—, who was present at the trial, thought Franklin's counsel deficient in their duty, for not addressing themselves then to the jury, in some such manner as this:

Gentlemen of the jury,—This honourable court has given it as their opinion, that it is not necessary by law for a libel to be *false* to make it criminal; and therefore do not allow us to enter upon the proof of its truth, which we are prepared for, and desirous to do. The council for the prosecution have not thought proper to lay before you any evidence of its falsehood.

But, Gentlemen, there is one circumstance attending this case, which my duty to my client, my obligation to truth and to the public, force me to mention, and to press upon your consciences as honest men, and men of understanding. This libel is laid in the information to be *false*. Now, supposing it not necessary by law for a libel to be false to make it criminal; supposing also, that you are of opinion with this honourable court, that the truth of a libel is an aggravation of the crime of publication; yet, I will say, and insist upon it too, that the proof of *the falsehood* of the libel now before you,

is

is necessary for your justification in bringing in a general verdict, *guilty*. For, by such general verdict, you will, upon your oaths, find Mr. Franklin guilty of publishing a *false* libel. How you can answer this to God, to your own consciences, or to your fellow subjects, when the counsel for the prosecution have not pretended to prove the falsehood, and *we* are ready to prove the truth of it, I must leave with you.— If the counsel for the prosecution will strike the word *false* out of the information, your business will be to consider the charge as it will then stand; whether you in your consciences believe this article of news is *scandalous*, and published with a *malicious intent*. If you doubt either of those circumstances, you must, even then, acquit the prisoner, if you mean to do him, or yourselves justice. If you are very clear as to the truth of those circumstances of the charge, and the proof of the publication by Mr. Franklin is evident, you may find him guilty, and leave it to the abilities of the learned gentlemen for the prosecution to support the legality of their information, if they can.

Besides, gentlemen, if you should, as the information now stands, bring in a general verdict, *guilty*, and the prisoner should hereafter move in arrest of judgment, that it is necessary for a libel to be *false* to make it *criminal*; the court will very properly reply, that this motion comes too late; for the libel has been already found, by twelve men good and true, to be *false*; that this was a fact, which remained with the jury to determine, and the court must proceed upon their verdict, which the court has no authority by law to alter.

Gentlemen of the jury, I have purposely avoided that profusion of words, which tends rather to confound the understanding, than to inform the judgment. I have delivered my sentiments in as plain and concise a manner as I was able. My view has been to lead you directly to the truth, and to fix your attention there. *Know the truth, and the truth shall make you free*. I doubt not but you will acquit yourselves as good men and true; and do nothing to regret hereafter, when repentance shall come too late.

Mr. E— was to the last of opinion, that by common-law, the truth of a libel would justify it; that the contrary doctrine was too modern to be established as common law; that the precedent upon which it originally stands, is the famous star-chamber case; a court! the illegality of whose proceedings have been solemnly condemned by the legislature. Surely, a determination of that infamous court, against *the ancient usage and custom of this realm*, cannot be deemed a legal prece-

precedent in this land of liberty ; or sufficient to remove the absurdity of supposing the word *false* to have no meaning, or that it could be intended in its antient legal use, to convey an idea different from that which the universal consent of mankind in all ages and nations have annexed to it.

The courts of law have no *legislative* authority. They are only *interpreters* of the law. But what interpretation they have given to the word *false* different from the idea that it conveys to all mankind, I have not yet heard. To say that it has no meaning, is rather too absurd to pass with a jury, whom God has blessed with common sense.

I have been told, that an opinion of any court of law, unless given upon a solemn debate before them upon the point, is but an *extra-judicial* opinion, and consequently *not law*. Now, I should be glad to be informed whether this point, *that it is not necessary for a libel to be false to make it criminal*, has ever yet been determined to be law upon a professed solemn debate upon the question, except by the star-chamber ; and whether it has not hitherto passed for such by an *extra-judicial* opinion of our courts, who refused the debate to be solemnly entered upon, and stopt it by an hasty judgment, whenever it was proposed, relying upon the star-chamber case as their authority.

Common law is the *antient usage and custom of this realm*, and supposed to be founded in *common sense and reason*. This is the law which, when broke in upon by venal judges of the courts of law, our forefathers spilt their blood to maintain against the encroachments of arbitrary power. Nothing can legally alter it but an act of the legislature, which there is no pretence for in the present case. And God forbid the legislature should so far interfere, as to enact THE TRUTH a *criminal libel*. If they should so far betray their trust, I hope they will put their meaning beyond all dispute, by ordering the word TRUE to be added to the charge, as an *epithet of aggravation*, in the place of the old *constitutional* word, FALSE.

In these very modern times, the courts of law have acted more consistently, though not more legally, in leaving the word *false* out of the information or indictment. But then, I am at a loss to know how they support this *innovation* as a point of *common-law*. I know that Mr. E—, when he was writing his preface to the *state-trials*, had the records searched both at Westminster and in the tower, for any one indictment, or information, for a libel, which had not the word *false* in the accusation ; but no such thing was to be found. A great many appeared, but all with the word *false*. Surely,
this

this is of too modern date to be established as *common-law*; especially as it is directly opposite to the antient, regular and constant usage from time immemorial. It owes its birth to these latter days, in which we have shewn our ingenuity and heroism, by forcing *the antient usage and custom of this realm* to give way to our private views and passions; which, in this point at least, the judges of our courts of law since the revolution, (if I say from the beginning, the records will justify it) have never dared to do before. All those courts of law since the revolution, who have declared the word *false* not necessary to constitute the crime, have continued the word *false* in their charge for a libel; chusing rather to destroy *the substance* by declaring the word *false* to have no meaning, than to hazard their indictment by an illegal deficiency in the form. I am apt to think the court of star-chamber did the same; but that I am not certain of, as I have not yet been able to inform myself of the whole of their proceedings.

The History of the two P's; or, an half hour's conversation on horseback, concerning Mr. Periwinckle and the Puppet-shew-man. By Phileleutherus Americanus.

Non sua verba.

ADDISON *Mach. Gest.*

“ In florid impotence he speaks,

“ And, as the prompter breathes, the *Puppet* squeaks.”

P O P E.

AS I was lately travelling through a certain great town in the south of England, I saw a vast number of people tumultuously assembled round a well-dressed gentleman-like person, who sat with the utmost composure and tranquility, strongly guarded by constables, in the public stocks. This naturally excited my curiosity, and I stopped my horse to enquire of a man, whom I saw standing by himself at a little distance from the mob, what might be the occasion of the gentleman's confinement; who answered me very snappishly, and as I observed with somewhat of a Scottish accent, that the gentleman, as I called him, was a most atrocious villain, that the stocks were too good for him, and that he was sure he should one day see him hanged for a traiterous, blasphemous, bawdy

bawdy dog as he was ; and thus saying, scratched his fingers, as if he would have torn them to pieces, and with a frown, which almost united a couple of high huge cheek bones with a pair of immense red eye brows, turned furiously from me, and stalked off. The behaviour of this gentleman almost intimidated me from making a second enquiry, especially when riding up close to the crowd, I discerned not less fury, tho' as I found afterward, from a very different principle, to animate the faces and behaviour of almost all the people that composed it. Observing, however, as I skirted the multitude, two or three well-dressed persons looking calmly, and not without an air of pity upon the tumult, I took courage, and humbly accosting him who had the most humane and sensible appearance of them, desired he would be so kind as to inform me of the cause of that riot, and the crime of the offender in the stocks. Alas, sir, replied he very courteously, and in a tone of compassion, the poor gentleman in the stocks is, for any thing I know, a very worthy gentleman, and guilty of no crime at all in the world ; he is there only for saying what to be sure every one who knows any thing at all must know to be true, that certain words of

As I could not forbear staring and putting on a smile of incredulity at this strange, and to be sure most ridiculous account. Sir, Sir, said he, I see you are an utter stranger to our part of the country ; but if you can hear me out with patience, I will explain to you the whole affair. I made a low bow, denoting that I should be much obliged to him for his kind information, and he thus went on.

You must know then, that the corporation of this town hold their charter by a very odd tenure—though undoubtedly there are many yet odder tenures in the world—that of keeping up a very splendid puppet-show ; which, oftentimes troublesome, and always highly expensive though it is, yet considering their great privileges and possessions, is no more than what they may well enough afford. The present master of this show is a Scotchman, an insolent, impudent, and, as I dare say you will conclude from what I am about to relate to you, a very ignorant fellow. When he first came into this country he was very poor, and carried a pack ; but by boasting much of his great family, some of which, he said, had been eminent carcase butchers before Adam, as he would prove from their pictures to any one who would go with him not much above a half hundred miles beyond the world's end ; by this means, I say, he prevailed on a rich farmer's daughter

to

to marry him unknown to her father ; and by another common trick of his countrymen, that of servilely creeping and cringing to his superiors, he got into the good graces of the late young squire

he was appointed master of the puppet-show, which is by far the most lucrative employment in our corporation. A Scotchman in a place of such profit, and that too upon which our possessions and privileges immediately depend, could not fail, you may well imagine, of giving great umbrage to the citizens : Besides, he in particular was known to bear a most inveterate hatred against our borough, and consequently opened the widest room for suspicion that he would leave nothing unattempted to bring on its ruin. Great of course were the murmurings against the favourite upon this occasion ; which the latter, in a short time, most imprudently heightened, by calling about him a huge shoal of his countrymen, with whom he not only filled up the under offices in his theatre as they happened to become vacant, but likewise injuriously turned out many of the old servants, in order to make room for them ; and this odious nationality has he since carried so far, that a great part of the places of trust and profit throughout the corporation is now filled with Scotchmen ; its farms, which are very numerous and rich, are almost all under the direction of Scotchmen ; and Scotch physicians, Scotch surgeons, Scotch lawyers, nay, Scotch parsons, are become the most fashionable in their respective professions in every quarter of the town ; nay, to that degree are we over-run by this foolish favourite's voracious countrymen, that what with those already provided for, and what with the yet greater train of gaping expectants, one can scarce walk twenty yards along the street without meeting some hard-favoured fellow, of a stiff carriage, with a new suit of cloaths, and a long sword swagging at his tail, the never-failing marks by which we distinguish them. You may be sure, sir, that it must be very grating to us to have the bread thus taken out of our mouths : But this is far from being the only cause of complaint which we have against our favourite. Though he talked loudly of economy at his first coming into office, and took away many of their usual perquisites from the lower servants of his theatre, and gave strict orders about saving the candle ends, nay the very snuffings of the candles, yet has he most notoriously ever since squandered away the town's money, by multiplying our principal performers, before much too numerous, and by bringing every year upon the stage a set of new puppets, which

wooden to be sure though they all have been, yet being dressed out like lords and dukes, must necessarily have occasioned a very great expence to the public. But why should I trouble you with a detail of all our numerous grievances? I will now come directly to the case of the unhappy gentleman before us. When our present manager took possession of the theatre, our corporation was embroiled in a very expensive and vexatious law-suit with two of the neighbouring parishes about its bounds; which, after several trials, as they had for the most part gone extremely well in our favour, we had great reason to hope would be determined, after a little more time, to our satisfaction; and the Scotchman at first appeared as zealous for its prosecution as the honestest citizen amongst us; but all of a sudden, through his intrigues with a few of our leading aldermen, a most shameful compromise was made of the matter; for which, some say, he received from the adverse parties a very considerable sum of gold: But whether this was the case, or whether he was moved to it by mere hatred of our happiness, or from a view of fingering, in greater quantities, the public money, and of fixing himself securely in that tyranny he had already began to erect over the corporation, it doth not yet satisfactorily appear; for though he was at first highly threatened with a prosecution, he hath never been called to any manner of account for it; and but for his unparalleled impudence in the point I now come to, the whole affair by this time had been certainly dead. Would you think it, sir? after the shameful compromise I have been mentioning was settled, he declared, that the matters lately in debate had been adjusted to the greatest possible honour and advantage of the corporation. A most gross insult on our understandings. This was too much, far too much, for a man of the least spirit patiently to endure. Accordingly Mr. Periwinkle, the honest gentleman in the stocks there, remonstrated against it next day in a letter to his fellow citizens, insisting, that

— — — — — and that
the shew-man had been guilty of a most impudent device to
countenance the iniquitous shuffling up of their late law-suit,
in which he was well known to have had the principal hand.
Here, sir, I ought to inform you,

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and

and he immediately determined to employ his artifice to Mr. Periwinkle's ruin. And supposing they would connive at any outrage committed in vindication of their f——'s dignity, he thought this a proper season for wreaking on the culprit his own private malice, having a long time entertained for him a most bitter grudge. For Mr. Periwinkle had not only, like a worthy citizen, opposed, to the utmost of his little power, the prevalence of the Scotch faction; but being a man well acquainted with the world, and very free of speech, had whispered about in such a manner that they soon became public, several great secrets, very much in the shew-man's opinion to the discredit of his countrymen, as that they were not over cleanly, fed pretty much upon oatmeal, had a little sprinkling of the itch, and the like. Accordingly soon after the letter was made public, he gave orders to his two principal bullies; who, without any justice's warrant, broke immediately into Mr. Periwinkle's house, seized his papers, though they consisted of nothing but a few idle verses, and a great heap of unpaid tradesmen's bills, and hurried the poor gentleman away to the round-house, where they kept him several days in confinement, without suffering any of his friends to come near him. From this place, however, at the next quarter sessions, he was released with honour, through the intrepidity and honesty of one of our justices of the peace, who has since been bribed to the Scotch faction by the ridiculous honour of a nick-name. But to return to Mr. Periwinkle. Though he was thus happily delivered from confinement, he by no means found his troubles at an end. His adversaries were mighty, and determined to have their revenge on him, whatever it might cost them. One attempt was made by them to get his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron; and another to clap a kind of a pad-lock upon his cod-piece, which to one in his condition (for the poor gentleman from his youth up hath been notoriously troubled with an incontinency of urine) would have been a most insupportable grievance. After this a fellow, well-known among our common people by the name of mouse-coloured sawney, a half-crazy Scotch cobbler, undertook to run a great awl into his backside, or some other more dangerous part of his body, and was actually got into his house to perform it. And lastly, a mongrel kind of a bruiser was spirited up to challenge him to a boxing match. This affair had like to have cost Mr. Periwinkle his life; for being a man of undaunted courage, he scorned to refuse a challenge from any man; and therefore, though he knew his adversary had for some time been in training for the combat, and that so assiduously as to have prac-

tified even on Sundays, fairly gave him the meeting ; but after a cuff or two on each side, received such an unlucky dowsle in the guts, that down he dropped, and was carried back to his own house for one dead. Now his enemies triumphed, for they all concluded he was effectually done for. However, after keeping his bed for some time, by the help of a good constitution, and an able surgeon, he found himself well enough again to venture abroad ; which he immediately did, not among his enemies indeed, for he was told that they had yet very dangerous machinations against him, but into a distant part of his majesty's dominions ; a part indeed so very distant, that his majesty hath in reality no dominion there at all ; where, for several years past, he hath remained in voluntary exile, hoping that time would mitigate the resentment of his enemies, or death, or the just indignation of his fellow citizens remove them out of his way. But vain, alas ! were these hopes ; for, returning the other day to revisit the dear place of his nativity, he found his enemies as mighty and implacable as ever. His very exile was alledged against him as a fresh crime, and being with all convenient speed apprehended, he was carried by them before a justice of the peace, and by him, after a long and full hearing, committed to the shameful durance in which you behold him, there to remain till such time as he shall be disposed to give his cause a rehearing ; after which, there is all the reason in the world to apprehend, that a heavy punishment will be inflicted on him. This, sir, strange undoubtedly as it must appear to you, is the real history of the gentleman in the stocks. As for the crowd of people which you see gathered about him, they almost to a man are his friends, and would willingly, in spite of the constables, take him out of confinement ; but this he endeavours, by all the means in his power to prevent ; for being now, he says, legally, however injuriously, committed, he is determined, like a good citizen, to await with patience the determination of the law. Here the gentleman appearing to have ended his narration, I could not help observing, that I had all along understood the mob to have been Mr. Periwinkle's enemies, on account of the ——— indignity ———. They were so at first, replied he, but compassion for his many and long sufferings have at last softened their hearts ; besides, many things have since happened ———.

Why, really sir, said I, according to your account of this matter, which from your grave manner of relating it, however strange and ridiculous it is in itself, I cannot doubt of being true. Your neighbour, Mr. Periwinkle, hath been
very

very hardly dealt with. But are there not crimes of a truly serious nature likewise laid to his charge? For a little before I joined you, I heard, if I mistook not, a person accusing him of impurity and blasphemy. O yes, replied he, bursting into a loud laugh, with these likewise has he been charged, and I alluded to them in the course of my narration: but being an utter stranger to our affairs, to be sure you did not understand me. You will laugh as loud as I when you shall know what these mighty charges amount to. The poor gentleman going one day along the street, and feeling an inclination to make water, turned himself, at a convenient place for that purpose, against the wall. This, you know, is a very common practice; and supposing some indelicacy in it, yet in a person of Mr. Periwinckle's infirmity, for I told you before that he is troubled with an incontinency of urine, the very nicest person, provided it is done with decency, might excuse it. Whilst he was in the middle of this business, a couple of sturdy fellows, hired by the shew-man to dog him for that or any other bad purpose, laid hold of both his arms, pinioned them down close, and by main force turned him about, unbuttoned as he was, exposing his nakedness for a considerable time to the whole street; and notwithstanding Mr. Periwinckle struggled hard all the while to get loose, and even crossed his thighs to conceal that which custom hath decreed shameful to exhibit in public, yet the scoundrels had the impudence to spread abroad all over town, that they found him freely; and of his own accord, making that most shameful exhibition; pronouncing it infamous for any woman whatever to be seen for the future in his company.

This, sir, is the mighty matter which his enemies have to accuse him of in regard to impurity. And as for blasphemy their charge against him upon that score is not less ridiculous; it being no more than this, that when the shew-man's two bullies broke into his house, as I told you before, and seized his papers, they found among the rest a few silly verses in ridicule of that old game, which possibly you have often played at in the christmas holidays, that of repeating this odd jumble of words "Three blue beans in a blue bladder, rattle, bladder, rattle," without the least hesitation, or variation, three times in one breath and on the whimsical penalty of kissing some or other person's backside through a gridiron. Which game because it was invented by a great Romish saint— * * * * *

The shew-man whose relations are known to have forfeited three estates for their bigotted attachment to the Romish religion, was very desirous of getting the verses composed in
mockery

mockery of it interpreted into blasphemy, and indeed there were many of our parsons, who in expectation of preferment from the favourite, both of whom are very considerable patrons, gave proofs of a most zealous disposition to pronounce it such. And now, sir, except that he is poor, which I dare say he is most heartily sorry for, and that he has a certain squint in his eyes, for which it be a crime he hath long time since sufficiently attoned, having been pilloried for it in effigy, you have heard every thing which malice has to alledge against the gentleman who is the object of your enquiry. Unhappy gentleman! replied I; But pray what sort of people are you in this town, to suffer a fellow-citizen to be used thus?—why, sir, what would you have us to do? do! O to be sure lay yourselves flat upon the ground for the Scotch shew-man, to piss on you—you are inclined to be merry, sir,—why then, to be serious, what you should do is this, you should * * * * * roll him neck and heels in the kennel.—But, sir, the law! the law!—ay that indeed is a thing to be considered; but supposing that a few of you should be sent to Bridewell, and get heartily flogged for such a thing, would it not be much better than that all of you should be thus insulted and trampled on? for depend upon it, if you suffer one of your members to be thus treated with impunity, your whole body by and by will in like manner suffer.—Here interposed a third person, I really think the gentleman is in the right on it, for by making examples of such scoundrels, we should take a revenge, which would do honour to our corporation, not only throughout the kingdom, but with all posterity, and terrify others from attempting in the like manner upon us for the future; * * * * * yes they may talk it, said a person who had not spoken before, but, depend upon it, it will there end. For our people now, brave as they were formerly, have not the least spark of spirit left in them. What with the slackness of trade, and what with the high price of provisions, they are in a manner half-starved; and an Englishman can do nothing noble, unless his inside is well lined with beef and pudding. This at least is a reproach, which the people of all other nations affix to our countrymen, and from this principle I suppose it hath been that our Scotch t—— ever since he came into power, hath used all possible means, to render beef and pudding invisible amongst us; for if I can keep, might he think within himself, these sturdy beggars upon the thin diet of French-men, I shall render them after a while as abject slaves

slaves as the most slavish Frenchmen of them all.—Here he held down his head for a short time, as I observed did all his companions, in sorrowful silence, and then added in a faint voice, for my own part, of ever seeing this town again in a free and flourishing condition from any noble attempt of the people, I absolutely despair.—And do you, sir, said I briskly, then I am most heartily glad that I am not one of the people of your town. I am a native of a far, very far, distant parish; and for that, lest your abominable tyrants should take it in their heads to shut their gates upon me, will I with all possible expedition depart; and thus saying gathered up the reins of my bridle into my hand, made a low bow to the company, set spurs to my horse, and rode off.

THE POLITICAL BAROMETER.

May 31. Died, the earl of Stamford. He is succeeded by his eldest son lord Grey, by which his lordship vacates his seat in parliament, as member for Staffordshire; and John Wrottesly, esq; member for Newcastle-under-line, is candidate for the county: and Dr. Hay is candidate for Newcastle.

June 3. Two gentlemen took an exact measurement of the ground in St. George's-fields, when they found it upwards of five-hundred yards from the place where the officer and the three soldiers left their ranks to the spot in the cow-house, in Blackman-street, where the unfortunate young Allen was shot.

5. Died George Cooke, Esq; joint-paymaster, prothonotary of the court of common pleas, and one of the knights of the shire for the county of Middlesex. Mr. serjeant Glynn, is candidate for the county. Lord chief justice Wilmot, has appointed Wm. Manwaring, Esq; prothonotary; and the right hon. Richard Rigby, was on the 10th appointed *Sole* paymaster, the salary of which is usually estimated at 7000*l.* per annum. The right honourable Mr. Thomas Townshend, who was the other joint paymaster, in consequence of this appointment is now entirely out of place.

9. This morning at eight, Mr. Wilkes was brought from the prison of the King's-bench to the court. The judges came about nine. It had been mentioned the last term, that a new argument was desired, and that new ground might be taken for the reversal of the outlawry. At the opening of
the

the court, Mr. Wilkes made a short speech, that he was perfectly satisfied with the state of the argument, as it was left by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, that he did not mean to quit the firm and solid ground on which it rested, and was persuaded, from the justice of the court, that his outlawry must be reversed. The attorney-general then in support of the outlawry entered upon a very long argument, to which no one of Mr. Wilkes's council replied. The judges afterwards delivered their opinions very fully, and were unanimous that the outlawry was illegal, and must be reversed. Their lordships differed as to some reasons, but all concurred in the reversal, and the irregularity of the proceedings.

The attorney-general then demanded judgment on the two verdicts. Mr. Wilkes desired to avail himself of several points in arrest of judgment. He said, that when he had the honour of appearing before that court on the 29th of April, he had stated the case of the alteration of the records at lord Mansfield's own house; that his lordship had replied; but that however his lordship had delivered only his own opinion; and the opinion of one judge, however distinguished for great ability, was not the judgment of the court, which he desired, and submitted to; and begged that his counsel might argue that, and some other points of importance. Several things were afterwards mentioned by the attorney-general, and by Mr. Wilkes's Counsel. At last the court fixed the next Tuesday to debate, whether both verdicts ought not to be set aside on the objections as to the records having been altered, and that the informations were not filed by the proper officer, but by the solicitor-general.

The right honourable the lord Mansfield made a very long and elaborate speech on the subject of Mr. Wilkes's outlawry, and in justification of his own conduct, which had been the cause of much popular abuse being thrown out against his lordship.

In the afternoon Mr. Wilkes's counsel and solicitor attended him at the King's-bench prison, and settled the farther proceedings against lord Halifax, which were suspended by the outlawry.

11. At a meeting of the——, to consider of the best method of applying for an expulsion, the matter was said to stand thus: *For the expulsion*, d—— of G——, lord G——r, lord W——th, Sir G——t E——t, lord N——; *against the expulsion*, lord C——n, lord S——ne, lord G——y, Sir E——H——ke, G——l C——y. A——y G——l was *for the expulsion*. The S——r G——l declined being any ways concerned, as an officer of the

the crown, at the peril of his office, or any other consequence.

14. This morning at eight, Mr. Wilkes was again brought up to the court of King's-bench. The court sat about nine Mr. serjeant Glynn, the recorder of London, Mr. Mansfield, and Mr. Davenport, argued very largely on the two points, the filing of the information by the solicitor, not the attorney-general, and the alteration of the records at lord Mansfield's house the evening before the trials, without the knowledge of Mr. Wilkes. The one was in arrest of judgment, the other was for a new trial. The attorney-general, sir Fletcher Norton, and Mr. Thurlow, made long speeches in reply, which were answered by Mr. serjeant Glynn. Then the court proceeded to deliver their opinions, and overruled both the objections. Mr. serjeant Glynn, next took notice, that as a writ of error was intended to be brought before a higher court of justice, before the house of lords, he desired that the case of the alteration of the records under such peculiar circumstances might be stated on the back of the record, to be transmitted to the lords, otherwise that important point could not come before the house. This was absolutely refused by the court.

Lord Mansfield then made his report of the two trials. The attorney-general, sir Fletcher Norton, and Mr. Thurlow, spoke in aggravation of both offences, and Mr. serjeant Glynn answered their arguments. After this, Mr. Wilkes desired that judgment might be passed upon him. The court declared, that they could not then pass judgment, but would consider it among themselves; and upon Mr. Wilkes's again pressing for a very early day, promised that there should be no delay.

Mr. Wilkes again offered bail, which was refused by the court. They continued sitting till near six.

The following regiments are quartered in the environs of this city, and within thirty miles thereof. The Scots Greys, lord Albemarle's, the Inniskillin, and Burgoyne's, dragoons. Q. Does not this circumstance make our country appear more like the military government of a Prussian monarchy, than the commercial, free, and independant kingdom of England, whose sovereign has a throne in the hearts of his subjects, and stands in need of no soldiers to make him respected?

18. This morning about eight Mr. Wilkes was brought up to the court of King's-bench. Lord Mansfield, and the other three judges took their seats before nine. Mr. justice Yates harangued on the two offences; but took no no-

tice of Mr. Kearsley's affidavit, setting forth, that the letters produced on the trial of the Essay on Woman, by which Mr. Wilkes was convicted, were taken from Mr. Kearsley by force under the authority of an illegal *General Warrant*. Nor did Mr. justice Yates dwell on the *Publication* of the poem; but only on the nature and tendency of it. He then passed the following sentence:—That Mr. Wilkes be imprisoned twenty-two calendar Months from this day: that he pay a fine of one thousand pounds; and give security for his future good behaviour for seven years; himself in a bond for one thousand pounds, and two sureties in bonds of five hundred pounds each.

Mr. Wilkes himself then moved for a writ of error to the house of lords; and said, that from the wisdom and justice of that court he hoped that the alteration of the records by lord chief justice Mansfield at his own house might be put in such a form as to come by way of appeal before the house of lords. Lord Mansfield replied, that they could not alter the *Law*. Mr. Wilkes repeated his request, that so important a point might be brought before a superior court, and received the same answer from lord Mansfield, that they could not alter the L-A-W.

A C H A R A C T E R.

“ On the OTHER side up rose

“ BELIAL;

“ A fairer person lost not heav'n; he seem'd

“ For dignity compos'd and high exploit:

“ But all was FALSE and HOLLOW; tho' his tongue

“ Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear

“ The BETTER reason.”

Milton, Book 2, Line 108, &c.

Mr. Wilkes is determined to bring the affair of the *Alteration of the records* before the *grand Committee for Grievances* in the house of commons.

The following is Mr. Wilkes's Address to his Constituents on the same Day.

To the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

AFTER every kind of opposition from the tools of ministerial power, and every hour of delay, which could be gained by the chicane of law, I find myself at last happy, even under this day's severe sentence, that by the unanimous determination of all the judges of the court of King's Bench

I am

I am restored to my birth-right, to the noble liberties and privileges of an Englishman. The out-lawry, which is now reversed, has appeared clearly to be an act of equal injustice and cruelty, from the very beginning erroneous and illegal. In the whole progress of ministerial vengeance against me for several years I have shewn to the conviction of all mankind, that my enemies have trampled on the laws, and been actuated by the spirit of tyranny and arbitrary power. The *general warrant*, under which I was first apprehended, has been adjudged illegal. The *seizure of my papers* was condemned judicially. The *out-lawry*, so long the topic of virulent abuse, is at last declared to have been contrary to law; and on the ground first taken by my learned counsel, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, is formally reversed. It still remains in this public cause, that the justice of the nation should have place against the first and great criminal, the late secretary of state, Lord Halifax, not so much for the punishment he has merited, as for the example of terror to any present or future minister, who might otherwise be tempted to invade the sacred liberties of our country. I pledge myself to you, that my strongest efforts shall be exerted to carry this through with a spirit and firmness becoming an affair of national consequence, yet without the smallest degree of private rancour or malice, which neither my long and hard imprisonment, nor the past provocations, shall make me harbour against any man.

At the end of this tedious and harsh confinement, I hope, gentlemen, to pass the rest of my life a freeman among you, my freeborn countrymen; and give me leave to declare, that on every emergency, whenever the rights of the people are attacked, I shall be ready to stand forward, and to risk all for what is nearest to my heart, the freedom of England. In this glorious cause we are equally engaged. We have only one common interest, that of our country, its laws and liberties, and in consequence the preservation of our sovereign and the Brunswick line. These objects we will steadily pursue, and freedom shall not perish among us, neither by the treachery and corruption of ministers, nor by the fate of arms, while we remain men and Englishmen.

I observe, gentlemen, in the speech of the lords commissioners at the opening of this parliament, that *no matters of general business* are to come on this session. Before the winter I beg to be honoured with your commands for the next session on any points of importance, which you may judge proper to be submitted to the great council of the nation, either respecting the kingdom in general, or our country in

particular. In all our common concerns I entreat for myself your candour and indulgence, of which I feel that I stand in great need. My views however will be approved by you, for they shall be public spirited, and in no instance selfish or partial. I would not for a moment lie under the suspicion of a mean, private, interested plan of conduct, or personal ambition. I am determined to remain entirely independent, uncorrupted, even unbiassed in an improper manner, and never to accept from the crown either place, pension, gratuity, or emolument of any kind. I will live and die in your service, a private gentleman, perfectly free, under no controul but the laws, under no influence but yours, and I hope, by your favour and kindness, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Middlesex. On these terms only I expect through life the continuance of your support, as well as the favourable opinion of you, and all other good men, the friends of liberty and of my country.

I am, with gratitude and esteem,

G E N T L E M E N,

Your faithful and obedient

King's-Bench Prison,

Humble servant,

Saturday, June 18, 1768.

JOHN WILKES.

20. The court of Common-pleas was moved, that as Mr. Wilkes's outlawry was now reversed, he might be at liberty to withdraw his demurrer to lord Halifax's plea and reply; but the court were of opinion, that it was proper to give a *Term's* notice of this motion, and Mr. Wilkes's attorney has given notice according. This same day, *soon after* Mr. serjeant Glynn *went out of* court, Mr. serjeant Nares moved for an attachment against the printer of a daily paper, for publishing Mr. Wilkes's address to the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as he apprehended the same *tended to inflame the jury* of the county before whom the cause was to be tried. The court asked him; whether he made that motion *on behalf* of the *Attorney-General*? which he averring, the *address* was read, and the court declared, that they did not see any thing *justly* deserving *censure*, and *refused the attachment*.

On the 3d of June, a motion was made by the attorney-general, for a writ of attachment against Mr. Bingley, for a contempt of the court, in publishing a paper called the
North-

North-Briton, No. 50, and at the same time, two writs of the like nature were moved for, against Mrs. Brett, and Mrs. Langford, who had sold some of the said paper. — On the 4th, another paper entitled the North-Briton extraordinary, No. 4, was charged by the attorney-general, with being a contempt of the court of King's-bench; and a writ of attachment was moved for, against the publisher, Mr. Staples Steare; and two writs of the like nature, were also moved for, against Mr. John Williams, and Mr. John Pridden, for having sold some of the said paper. On the 7th, Mr. Bingley, appeared before the court of King's-bench, in order to shew cause why the writ of attachment should not issue against him, and offered to read a paper, which was refused. He then published this paper in a North-Briton, called No. 51; for which on the 9th, another writ of attachment was moved for, by the attorney-general. On the 10th, the writ of attachment against him, for publishing No. 50, was ordered to issue, as was next day that for publishing No. 51. In the evening (of the 12th) he was taken from his shop in the Strand, by the officers, to Mr. Phillips's lock-up-house, the Pyed-bull, in Gray's-inn-lane, where he was kept that night, and next day (Sunday) he was offered to be admitted to bail, which he refused to accept, and was thereupon committed to Newgate, where he now is. — The motion against Mrs. Langford was discharged. Mrs. Brett, gave bail till next term. — The publisher and sellers of the extraordinary North-Briton likewise gave bail till next term.

On the 11th, lord viscount Clare, was appointed joint vice treasurer of Ireland, in the room of Mr. Rigby; and the earl of Hillsborough, was appointed first lord commissioner of trade, with the powers of secretary of state.

Among the many cruel and oppressive measures of this administration against Mr. Wilkes, the following ought to be noticed. When Mr. Wilkes dined with his friends, on the 10th of April last, at the King's-arms tavern, in Cornhill, he was served, in the midst of them, by an agent of the secretary of the treasury, with an exchequer writ and bill of discovery, upon information, consisting of many sheets of paper, in order to discover and seize all his effects under the *outlawry*, as being forfeited to the crown, although the *writs of error* in the case of the *outlawry* had been actually allowed. The *outlawry* has since been declared illegal from the beginning. *Quere*, if the Treasury had succeeded in their attempt of seizing the effects of Mr. Wilkes, under that *illegal outlawry*, would it not have been a downright robbery?

The

The following is the warrant of Mr. Wilkes's commitment to the King's-bench-prison, on the 27th of April, 1768.

Wednesday next, after three weeks from the feast day of Easter, in the eighth year of King George the Third, Middlesex, the } THE defendant being brought here into court
king against } in custody of the sheriff of the county of Middle-
John Wilkes, { sex, by virtue of a writ of Capias Utlegatum, it
Esquire. } is ordered, upon the motion of Mr. Attorney-
General, that he, the said defendant, be now committed to the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this court, to be by him kept in safe custody, until he shall be from thence discharged by due course of law; and the said defendant, now here in court, producing a writ of error, and praying Oyer of the Record, it is ordered by this court, that the said writ of error be allowed.

On the motion of Mr. Attorney-General.

By the Court.

The following is said to have been the conclusion of Mr. Sergeant Glynn's speech, on Tuesday last, in Mr. Wilkes's-cause;

"My lords,

"I have now done with my client and his cause; your lordships will determine according to your wisdom. But here let me entreat you for the sake of the safety of every subject of this nation, that your lordships will please to fix some limits to the discretionary power of altering records; that we may know for the future when we can be certain of the cause we are to plead; and that the subject may not be liable to ruin at the discretion of a judge."

The following paper is very curious. It is copied from the St. James's Chronicle and the other public prints.

In the KING's BENCH.

Middlesex.

THE KING

against

JOHN WILKES, Esq;

FRANCIS BARLOW, of the Crown-office, in the Temple, and William Hughes, of the same place, severally make oath; and first the deponent Barlow for himself faith, that on the eighteenth day of February last, he received directions from Mr. Wallace or Mr. Webb, to apply to a judge to get the information against the defendant amended, by striking out the word PURPORT and inserting in its stead the word TENOR, that he this deponent did accordingly apply to the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield, and obtained a summons to shew cause why it should not be amended; a copy whereof is hereunto annexed: And this deponent, immediately after he had obtained the same, sent two copies thereof, viz. one to the other deponent, Hughes, who was clerk in court for the defendant, and the other copy to Mr. Philips, solicitor for the said defendant; and this deponent was informed, and does believe, that
such

such copies were left that night at their respective houses; and this deponent Barlow further says, that in consequence thereof, he this deponent, on Monday the twentieth day of the same month of February in the morning, attended Lord Mansfield at his house, and there met the other deponent, Hughes, and Philips; and this deponent remembers, that Lord Mansfield asked them what objection they had to such an amendment, and that they or one of them made answer, that they could not consent; and this deponent remembers, that Lord Mansfield said he did not ask their consent, but wanted to know what their objections were, and asked them if it was not usual or the common practice to amend informations, or to that or the like effect, and that Lord Mansfield mentioned or read from a book or *manuscript*, which his lordship had in his hand several cases of amendments; and that afterwards his lordship made an order to amend the information in this cause, a copy of which order is hereunto annexed; and this deponent, Hughes, for himself saith, that he remembers to have been served with a copy of such summons, and that he attended Lord Mansfield when such order was made as above set forth; and accordingly, to the best of his remembrance and belief, what is above deposed by the other deponent Barlow is true.

Sworn by the deponent Francis Barlow, } FRANCIS BARLOW.
the 22d of January, 1765, at my }
Chambers in Serjeant's-inn. } WILLIAM HUGHES.
Before me, E. WILMOT.

Sworn by the deponent William Hughes, in the }
King's-bench Treasury-chamber, Westminster-hall, the 23d day of January, 1765. }
E. WILMOT.

Middlesex,
The King
against
John Wilkes, Esq;
On an information for
publishing a Libel, in-
titled the North Briton. } Let the defendant's clerk in court,
agent, attorney, or solicitor, attend
me at my house in Bloomsbury-square,
on Monday, the 20th day of February
instant, at eight o'clock in the
morning, to shew cause why the in-
formation in this cause should not be
amended by striking out the word
"PURPORT" in the several places
where it is mentioned in the said in-
formation (except in the first place)
and inserting instead thereof, the
word "TENOR."

Dated this 18th day of February, 1764.

MANSFIELD.

Middlesex,

Middlesex,
The King
against
John Wilkes, Esq;
On an information for
publishing a Libel, in-
titled the North-Briton.

} Upon hearing the clerks in court on both sides, I do order that the information in this cause be amended, by striking out the word, "PURPORT" in the several places where it is mentioned in the said information (except in the first place) and by inserting instead thereof, the word "TENOR."

Dated this 20th day of February, 1764.
MANSFIELD.

The same alteration was made in the cause respecting the *Essay on Woman*. This alteration seems trifling in appearance, but is in reality of the utmost importance. It totally changed the nature of the defence. If the word PURPORT had remained, upon which Mr. Wilkes's council were prepared to argue, scarcely any two men could have been found, who would have agreed in a verdict finding him guilty to the PURPORT, or effect charged in the information; but by the alteration to the word TENOR, the PURPORT was not in question, and the defence was changed into a critical comparison of the words, letters, and figures in the papers published with those in the information filed, for which no time was allowed. The causes were tried the very next morning, so that Mr. Wilkes's council were deprived of making the defence, for which they were prepared, and forced upon a defence, which they had neither time to consider, nor reason to apprehend. Mr. Wilkes himself was at that time in another kingdom, very dangerously ill.

From the GAZETTEER.

AS the following letter from the ——— of ——— has not appeared in any of the papers, I have sent it to you, and beg you would insert it, as the public will have the satisfaction of reading the particular directions given by that able conveyancer of his ——— pleasure.

"It having been represented, that for some nights past several disorderly and riotous persons have illegally assembled themselves in the Borough of Southwark, and in the neighbourhood thereof, and have committed divers outrages; and a military force having been judged necessary for putting a stop to such disorders, and the same having been requested by the civil magistrates, it is his ——— pleasure that you cause a detachment, consisting of one hundred men, with proper commissioned and non-commissioned officers, to be made from the battalions of his ——— foot guards, and march forthwith to the guard room appointed by the civil magistrates in the Borough of Southwark for the reception of the said detachment: where they are to do duty, and be aiding and assisting to the civil magistrates,

Magistrates, on their requisition, in case any riots or disorders shall happen, in putting a stop to the same, in preserving the public peace, and in securing the offenders; but not to repel force with force, unless in case of absolute necessity, or being thereto required by the civil magistrates: And it is his ——— pleasure, that you cause the said detachment to be relieved by a like detachment from the foot guards, as often as upon concerting with the civil magistrates, shall be judged necessary; wherein the civil magistrates, and all others concerned, are to be assisting in providing quarters, impressing carriages, and otherwise, as there shall be occasion.

Given at the ——— this ——— day of ———, 1768.

By his ——— command,

—————.”

“ To the field officer in staff waiting
for the regiments of foot guards.

On this order I beg leave to add, that every lover of the constitutional laws of this kingdom, will be fired with indignation, to see that a military force, the utter aversion of every friend to liberty, should be judged a necessary power to keep that peace and good order, which statutes innumerable have solely inveited the civil magistrates with. I cannot in times like the present, pretend to determine what a riotous and illegal ——— means, though in my own opinion, the innumerable multitude of the pensioners and placemen is the most i——l, as well as the most p——r-n e——s——, of any that can meet for the destruction of the public peace, and I sincerely wish the laws and constitutional methods, to prevent and put a stop of all illegal assemblies, were strictly put into execution; however, I cannot suppose, that the laws, made for the prevention of such assemblies, were meant to debar the meeting of a number of people, unarmed, out of curiosity, to behold a miraculous phenomenon, a steady and uncorrupted patriot; a firm supporter of their rights and liberties; particularly when they are induced to think, that he is an injured and oppressed member of the community, suffering for what he has been supposed to have published of the tyrannical proceedings of a Scottish minister and his adherents, under the masque of persecution, for having too freely made use of his ——— name which his strongest opponents, and even the J———s of the age themselves would not have thought sufficient to have been deemed a libel, had it been spoke in another place; but to speak, to think, to write, to approve, or disapprove, out of that place, are now deemed treasonable practices; and slavish submission seems the only remains of freedom we can boast: but I must further add, that if crowds assembling to applaud particular persons for their supposed good conduct be a crime that the laws of the kingdom are not severe enough to punish, but requires a tyrannical military force to inflict immediate death on, and indiscriminately to kill the innocent with the guilty,—Why were not the troops ordered to shew their alacrity and good behaviour against the crowds that so tumultuously followed E——l C——m’s carriage when he attended his ——— to dinner at Guildhall, robbing

bing his ———, by artful courtesies, of those acclamations he alone had any right to. I have been informed that the civil magistrates, with the power they have of obliging every person within the county to assist them, is the only legal method in this kingdom of putting a stop to riotous and tumultuous assemblies; and I am sorry to find this constitutional method was not pursued the day so much blood was shed in St. George's-fields by the military, under the command of ———, who, on account of a small scratch on his face, by a stone flung from a hand that could not easily be fixed on, was so exasperated that he determined immediately to conceive, that then was the time absolutely necessary, as the ——— of ———'s letter directs, *to repel force by force*; but I cannot, by all the enquiry I have made, make out what force there was to repel, except the blow of the stone; which had he had presence of mind to have repelled, his choler had not boiled for such bloody revenge: but I must observe in respect to the words *absolutely necessary to repel force by force*, that it requires the head and experience of a very skilful general to determine, when it is absolutely necessary, and proper, to order troops to make the executive use of their arms, and can never imagine that every man, dignified with the commission of justice of the peace, can acquire that judgment; unless, the like Lord C—e, they were all heaven-born generals, and had frightened Indians, to reap the like conquests from. *Repelling force by force* is opposing armed men against armed men; and if there ever should be an occasion to make it absolutely necessary to pursue the true meaning of those particular words, I hope his worship, armed like a soldier, will shew as great alacrity in making use of his mawwet, as he did in ordering those he had not a just reason, if he had a just right to do it.

From the St. James's CHRONICLE.

S I R,

MR. Wilkes is too busy so near the end of this term to attend to anonymous writers in the newspapers, and therefore I beg you would give me leave to settle the week's account for him.

In the *Public Advertiser* of Thursday, a correspondent who signs himself *Inquisitive*, repeats from a foolish forgotten pamphlet several queries, either trifling in their nature, or which have already been answered. The signature *Impertinent* would therefore have become him much better; and all the answer he deserves to his queries is the very short, but the very true one, the little negative NO.

He says, "is there, or was there not some time ago, subsisting in the county of Kent, a society of gentlemen bearing the name of Franciscan Friars? Did he not solicit to be admitted one of the number? Did he not divulge the secrets of the society, in opposition

sition to an oath taken at his admission not to do it? And was he not in consequence of this publicly expelled." NO; there is not a syllable of this true. At a place called Medmenham-abbey in Buckinghamshire indeed was a society of gentlemen, who had sometimes a mock celebration of the ridiculous rites of the Monkish orders; but all the other circumstances are false. The secrets of that society are not yet known, and I believe never will, unless an administration, equally lost to all sense of honour as that of this country in 1763 should corrupt a domestic to commit a robbery; and then, Sir, you may go to the King's—— and hear the account read by the order of Lord M——, when it is not published any other way. I own, Sir, Mr. Wilkes did belong to that society; so do at this hour some persons in high confidence with the K——. For all these fallies and indiscretions I believe repentance has come to him, and I hope it will to others. I would only justify him by what he now is, as a private as well as a public man; and Horace is still more candid,

Nec luisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.

Mr. *Inquisitive* goes on, "did he not make application to a certain nobleman, requesting his intercession with Lord Bute, saying, "Lord Bute thinks me his enemy; I am so far from it, that, if he will take me under his patronage, I will turn my pen wholly in his favour?" NO; he never harboured such an idea. He thought very early, from the conduct of Lord Bute, that his Lordship was an *enemy* to this nation and to its sovereign, and therefore he became the declared and determined *enemy* of his Lordship, from whom to this hour he has never received any personal disobligation. His hatred to Lord Bute is in common with every good Englishman for *public* wrongs to this country. There is nothing private or personal in the case. When the insolent *Scot* first began to trample on the ancient nobility of this kingdom, when he would be the unconstitutional prime Minister, and the will of such a man, a subject too, became the rule of obedience to a corrupt majority of members in the last parliament, a few were found, who were faithful, and among them I with pleasure name Mr. Wilkes. The others I forbear to mention, for most of them have since fallen down in the *Pagoda*, and worshipped the foreign God. When the same hostile hand gave us an infamous *Peace*, and a wicked *Excise*, Mr. Wilkes went on with the spirited opposition he had begun, and set himself against the destructive measures, which were carrying on from day to day. I hope, from the consistency of his character, that he will never quit the public cause of pursuing this great delinquent, till justice has overtaken his crimes; and I think from all appearances, that he will not long escape with impunity.

The next query is about *his being often urged by an intimate friend not to run such lengths*, and his answer, *that he was so far in, he must go through it*. This too is a notorious fiction. All his friends are those of this country, and will themselves *run all lengths* to save the liberties of England; and any minister, who shews that he wishes to enslave us, will find this to his cost. Mr. Wilkes too will always be found in the midst of such a sacred Theban band,

who are every day becoming a more numerous, more firm, and united phalanx against tyranny and oppression. The last query respecting the government of *Canada*, was made many weeks ago by Mr. Smith of Gray's-Inn, and fully answered by a *Friend to Truth*.

I imagine, Sir, neither Mr. Wilkes, nor any of his friends, have the inclination or leisure to answer every trifling question of every anonymous writer. Whatever has been thrown out of importance, or relative to the cause, has been regarded, and a reply always made; but to a man, who only asks of what country the cook of Mr. Wilkes is, no answer ought to be given, nor to another, who is angry that Mr. Wilkes is cheerful in a prison, when he sees around him the cheerful faces of gentlemen of worth and honour, whom he loves; nor to a third who can think it a crime at the King's-Bench, rather than the King's-Arms, to eat the turtle and drink the champagne, of some generous friends, who prefer the humble cell of Liberty to the proud dome of titled slavery.

The Question to Mr. Wilkes, in the *Gazetteer* of last Wednesday, *what history of England before the revolution he would recommend to his friends?* is rather embarrassing. Perhaps, as an advocate for Liberty, and a gallant man, he might desire to drop the handkerchief to the fair *Kitty Macaulay*, and might even wish for an *Essay* on that celebrated *Woman*, if he was not afraid that she could never be brought to practise the Tory doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*: But then he must immediately have a literary quarrel with so many doughty heroes of his own sex, with all the other modern historians. They will all rise in arms, and make a common cause against him. Has he time to carry on such a paper war; and, in justice, Sir, must he not first read them? But how can he? David Hume, Tobias Smollett, and William Guthrie, are not yet translated into *English*, and he does not understand a word of *Scotch*. I hope therefore he will confine himself to recommend his own history by fidelity and exactness; to others he will leave the same way to recommend theirs; and to the public the choice of reading all, or one, or—none.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

A. B.

Our readers will not be displeased to hear that MR. SMITH, OF GRAY'S-INN, has at length met with an adversary worthy of him in the person of MR. JOHNSON, OF LINCOLN'S-INN. The public begin already to be divided into parties, and the English Pasquin and Marforio engage all attention.

From the St. James's Chronicle.

A C A R D.

MR. Smith, of Gray's-Inn, presents his compliments to a late ME—Ambassador at Constantinople: He desires to know if the following fact may not be depended upon.—The Ambassadors

Ador of the French King, a very few years ago, assembled all the Jesuits at Constantinople, and declared to them, in the name of his Sovereign, "That they were no longer under the protection of the crown of France." The Ambassador of a Protestant crown, which formerly dreaded and expelled the Jesuits, by a total change of all principles and politics, afterwards assembled the same artful and ambitious priests, and said to them publicly, "Gentlemen, in my master's name, I take you under the protection of the crown of E——."

A C A R D.

MR. Smith, of Gray's Inn, presents his compliments to the E—— of S——h, and wishes his Lordship would indulge him with the reason, why his nomination, as Joint Postmaster-General, was so long delayed in the London Gazette after he actually did the duty of that office; and likewise, why he was not sooner admitted to the public honour of kissing the K—— hand on that occasion; and if the delay has any reference to the part his Lordship is supposed to have taken in the late election for the county of H——.

A C A R D.

MR. Smith of Gray's Inn desires to be informed whether the following report is true.

It is said, that on Sunday the 22d of last month, a *certain person*, in the parish of Stanwell, saw two little boys (the elder not ten years old) bird-nesting in his park. He went after them with his gun, and accosted them in his usual style, with oaths, menaces, and imprecations. The poor boys, being extremely frightened, ran for it, and the heroic B—— shot one of them, Powel, a shoemaker's son, in the leg. Mr. Smith desires to know whether the poor child is still living? and whether the parents intend prosecution? and, if so, how the B—— can justify his action?

June 1, 1768.

From the St. James's Chronicle.

A C A R D.

MR. Johnson, of Lincoln's-Inn, has for some time past observed, with much disgust, the repeated questions of Mr. Smith of Gray's-Inn; because Mr. Smith generally takes care to interrogate such persons who, he is well assured from the nature of his questions, can return him no answer. Mr. Johnson thinks this manner of proceeding extremely unfair, to say no worse of it; and therefore Mr. Johnson, of Lincoln's-Inn, will undertake for

for the future to reply to Mr. Smith, of Gray's-Inn, for all those who cannot, or will not, answer for themselves.

A late Ambassador at Constantinople has all the prudence and caution becoming a man in high life and public station. He never was known to answer directly what it was o'clock. It is always dark and foggy weather with him, and *Caput inter nubila condita*. As Mr. Smith therefore has little chance with him, Mr. Johnson ventures to say, that the fact is truly stated, and the reason not hard to guess. We have been very long under the happy guidance of the Scots; the Scots are known to be Presbyterians; now Mr. Johnson submits whether there is any animal in nature so like a Jesuit as a Scottish Presbyterian. Fraud, hypocrisy, equivocation, dissembling, mental reservation, &c. have always been the favourite virtues of both. In one point only they have differed; the Jesuits have had a *plenary indulgence* for favourite vices; and the vices of favourites; the Scottish Presbyterians have been very rigid, morose, and forbidding. The *Kirk of Scotland* has indeed always been an ill-natured, ill-bred, peevish, and censorious Prude; the Church of Rome a flanting, cawdry, lying, and impudent Whore; when we have had the happiness of seeing at home a prudent, sober, and decent matron, in the Church of England. Can Mr. Smith now wonder that the Scottish Presbyterians shake hands with the Jesuits, and both seek our destruction?

Now, Sir, for his second question, about the E—— of S——h and the Huntingdonshire election. Why should Mr. Smith wish Lord S—— in more scrapes? It was surely sufficient for him to have committed a *high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, by concerning himself in the election of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament*, without putting it in the power of a hundred freeholders to sue him under the statute. Mr. Johnson will venture to say, that there is an express statute, which would have reached his Lordship, who seems to have been well aware of it; for nature, as usual, having denied him wisdom, has supplied him well with cunning; and he knows much better than either Mr. Smith or Mr. Johnson all the clauses against persons in certain offices, *endeavouring to persuade any elector to give, or dissuade from giving, his vote for the choice of any Knight of the Shire, &c.* and the various penalties annexed.

Mr. Johnson will now gratify Mr. Smith's inquisitive disposition as to his third question, relative to a late transaction at Stanwell.

Mr. Johnson therefore answers: The report, as stated by Mr. Smith, is true. The child is still living, but lamed. A prosecution is intended by the parents.

How the B—— will justify himself, Mr. Johnson presumes not to say; but he will tell Mr. Smith how Mr. Johnson would justify him, should he be happy enough to be employed as counsel in this cause.

We will suppose the worst that can happen, that the child should die of his wound. In that case the indictment would probably lie for murder. Thus then Mr. Johnson would argue—This thing might

might happen either by chance in self-defence, or from a sudden gust of passion.

First, by chance. And here Mr. Johnson will be supported by one of the best authorities in this kingdom. Mr. S— G— pleading t'other day for the soldiers to be admitted to bail, sum'd up the matter thus, "My Lord, it appears by the evidence, that "one of the soldiers said, By G—d, here is one we were looking for. D—m him, I'll shoot him. To which the other soldier replied, Aye, d—m his eyes, shoot him. The first soldier then "levelled his piece at him, and so the gun went off." Just so it happened in the present case. The B— saw the little children, he followed them with his gun, they ran, he swore, and so the piece went off. If Mr. Johnson was pleading before the judges only, who are men of education and profound learning, he would leave his argument just as the S— G— did; but to a jury something more might be necessary; and therefore to them he would explain the nature of sound, how it is caused by impulses of the air; he would produce experiments to shew its effects; such as the sound of one instrument, by the vibration of the air, putting the chords of another instrument in motion; and the still stronger instance of men who can break a glass with their voice; and, if so, why may not a man with his voice move the trigger of a gun? It is *certain* this happened in the first case, of the soldiers; and therefore, in order to prove it in the present case, it would only be necessary to bring witnesses that the B— can swear as heartily, and as horribly, as any soldier in the third regiment of guards.

Next, for self-defence. And here Mr. Johnson will not avail himself of the authority of another crown lawyer, Mr. Thurlow, who says, It is very indifferent whether the common people die by the *shot*, or the *rot*. But Mr. Johnson will take it upon a new ground. He says then, that the B— did it in his own defence: Not that he had any reason to apprehend a dangerous resistance to his person from these harmless little children: But he knew very well that, by the insinuations of some *freeholders of Stanwell*, no regard at all would be paid to his assertions; and had he afterwards accused these little boys of bird-nesting in his park, no one would have believed a word he said. And, therefore, by self-defence here is meant the defence of his character, which made it necessary for him to shoot them, to make people believe they had ever been there.

But suppose neither of these positions defensible, it must then have been the consequence of a sudden gust of passion: For it is impossible to imagine the B— could have any premeditated malice to them, however their parents might have voted, or wished, or subscribed to a law-suit against him. The helpless state of infancy can never be the object of a man's resentment. But would it not vex any man whose name was graced with titles of honour, and his person distinguished with blushing marks of — favour, would it not vex such a man to fall at last beneath the resentment of men, and to become the contempt and ridicule even of children?

From the St. James's Chronicle.

THE conversation of the public, and the arguments in Westminster-hall, have lately turned so much upon the *Essay on Woman*, and the manner in which the evidence relative to it was obtained, that I shall make no apology for summing up what has already been printed, and furnishing you with a new affidavit, which has not yet appeared in the papers. It was made by Mr. Kearsly two days before Mr. Wilkes received sentence, and clearly demonstrates, that if the *General Warrant* had not issued contrary to law, scarcely any evidence could have been had against Mr. Wilkes relative to the *Essay on Woman*; for all his letters to Mr. Kearsly, which were almost the only evidence insisted upon, were seized by virtue of that illegal power exercised by Lord Halifax, then secretary of state. Mr. Wilkes therefore is now actually to suffer a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 500l. because a late infamous administration issued a *General Warrant* against the law of the land, and then corrupted a servant to rob his master. I shall only farther premise, that Mr. Philip Carteret Webb was at that time Solicitor to the Treasury; and that Lord Mansfield first in his charge to the Jury, again in the report he made on Saturday last to the Court of King's Bench, as well as the Rev. Mr. Kidgell in the *Genuine and Succinct Narrative*, were mistaken in making an application to christianity of the two Greek words, *the PRESERVER*, not *the SAVIOUR of the world*. The Latin translation too is *SERVATOR Orbis* or *Mundi*, not *SALVATOR*. I begin with the quotation, which proves this.

In the postscript to *A Letter to J. Kidgell, containing a full answer to his Narrative*, printed for J. Williams, next the Mitre-tavern, Fleet-street, 1763, are the following words:

“What you say relative to the Greek inscription, which you translate *THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD*, so fully demonstrates your illiterateness and ignorance, that though I at first intended to pass it over in silence, yet, upon recollection, I must mention one word of your total want of scholarship. You ought, Sir, to have known, that the words ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, which you have translated *THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD*, have no respect to christianity, and therefore the allusion is a blasphemy of your own, and not of the author of the *Essay on Woman*. That inscription is found upon an ancient PHALLUS, of a date of much more remote antiquity than the birth of Christ. The account of this antique may be seen at large in De La Chaussée's *Museum Romanum*, printed at Rome in folio in 1692, and, BY HIS OWN PERMISSION, dedicated to the Pope; who, I suppose, is a CHRISTIAN prince.

“The late Rev. and learned Dr. Middleton, in that valuable work, entitled, *Germana Quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta*, &c. has not scrupled to give the following short account of it: ‘Quod quidem illustrari quodammodo videtur a symbolica quadam apud Causæum Priapi Effigie, cui Galli Gallinæ caput crista ornatum, rostri vero loco, fascinum ingens datur: Cujusque in basi litteris Græcis inscriptum legitur ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ. *SERVATOR ORBIS.*

ORBIS.' Quæ omnia vir doctus ita interpretatur: Gallum scilicet, ævem Soli sacram esse; Solemque generatricis facultatis præsidem; pudentiumque adeo virile Gallinaceo capiti adjunctum denotare, quod a conjunctis Solis Priapique viribus, animalium genus omne procreatum et conservatum sit, secundum physicum quoddam Aristotelis axioma, Homo hominem generat et Sol.

In the *Genuine and Succinct Narrative, &c.* by the Rev. Mr. Kidgell, printed for James Robson, bookseller to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, 1763, are these words:

"Mr. Faden informed me that the said proof-sheet had been accidentally brought to his house by one of his journeymen. I came to a resolution of advising with a Right Hon. Personage, of whose benevolence and candour I was sufficiently convinced (*Quere, if Mr. Wilkes has as much reason as the Rev. Mr. Kidgell to be sufficiently convinced of Lord March's benevolence and candour*) and whose chaplain I have the honour to have been almost from the day of my ordination—*His Lordship does you honour, good Mr. Kidgell*—My Lord, who was extremely offended at the scandalous indecency—*Lord March offended at an indecency!*—said he would acquaint me of the result of his maturer thoughts—*Lord March's maturer thoughts!*—In a few days after this conversation I received his Lordship's commands, by an express which was sent to my house in Surry, to attend his Lordship—and perhaps the fair Signora—when he was pleased to give me to understand, that proper measures would infallibly be taken for the discovery and the punishment of so avowed an enemy to society as the author of so prophane a libel;" *although, whoever was the author, he carefully kept from SOCIETY what had never been known at all but for the pious care of this Scottish Lord, his worthy chaplain, and a few arbitrary ministers, who contrived the theft, and had issued an illegal GENERAL WARRANT, by which they had seized several of Mr. Wilkes's letters at Kearsly's, and all his papers at his own house. Notwithstanding such a direct attack on the liberty of the subject, this christian chaplain of a christian Lord, is ordered to begin his Narrative with, "from a persuasion of the extensive utility of every social virtue, and a perfect sense of obligation to the most unexceptionable government in the world, (which government by the bye had so lately issued a GENERAL WARRANT) I am constrained, &c."* *'Such ideas of government have these Lords and these chaplains! The last page of this priest, or this peer, is just as true as the first; for he says, "If one man, under pretence of privilege, is permitted to obtrude upon an abused nation, what no one printer, except himself, had ever the confidence to undertake, &c."* *Pray, Sir, or my Lord, what part of this performance has YET been obtruded upon the nation, except what you have published yourselves in the NARRATIVE? In the 24th page it is said, "DELIBERATELY, and in a few words, I ask, For what one valuable consideration upon earth, would a serious or a good man permit an hour's perusal of this execrable Essay to his Children?" Now I answer DELIBERATELY, and in a few words, that there never was any thing more infamous or malicious than this insinuation of either of you, for you knew when but twelve copies had been printed, it was*

impossible: it could be designed to get into any serious or good man's family, though it probably might, by treachery, find its way, among other books of such a nature, upon the Right Hon. the Earl of March's and the Reverend Mr. Kidgell's shelves. I have now a right to say, that you have neither of you, in my idea, acted with BENEVOLENCE, CANDOUR, or christianity; for you both knew the innocence of Mr. Wilkes, as to the most distant thought of publication. He laughed at your silly whinings, and if he had thought either of you an object of his notice, he would have taken an ample revenge, by giving the world a 24 hours NARRATIVE of any one day of either of your lives, the Sunday not excepted. But he left you both to the INEFFABLE contempt, (in your own own phrase) which has long ago overtaken you. At that time you were despised; now you are totally forgot.

I proceed to another pamphlet, published in 1763, entitled, *The Plain Truth; being a genuine narrative of the methods made use of to procure a copy of the Essay on Woman, &c.* By Thomas Farmer, printer. Printed for the Author, and sold by J. Pottinger, &c.

"About the beginning of July last, in company with Mr. Jennings, a printer, (who at that time worked for Mr. Wilkes in Great George-street) at Mr. Sidey's, the Red-lion in Jewin-street, I asked him, among other chat, what he would treat me with for supper? To which he replied, that not having been out at dinner time, he had some butter in his pocket, which he produced wrapped in a piece of printed paper, which I took up and read," &c. p. 4. "The next morning I shewed this paper to some of the journey-men at Mr. Faden's. In a few days after this Mr. Hassall, the overseer at Mr. Faden's, desired to see it for a few hours, and I very readily lent it him. Some days afterwards, Mr. Hassall asked me, if I could BY ANY MEANS procure the remainder of the copy? I answered, that I would, if it was in my power. On which Mr. Hassall said, *Purchase it at any rate—wait a little—I'll bring you some money presently.*" Mr. Hassall was as good as his word, and in a few minutes returned, and gave me five guineas. On receiving which I said, *I would go to Jennings's, and if he could procure it, I was sure he would oblige me;* &c. I applied again to Jennings, and offered him first a guinea, and then a guinea and a half, and a bowl of punch, &c. &c. Hassall frequently asked me, why I was not more diligent in procuring the copy, bid me offer five guineas for it, and told me that the getting it would serve Mr. Faden, IN SERVING HIS FRIEND. To all which I replied in these words: I fear the procuring this copy is intended to injure Mr. Wilkes, and if it is, I will have nothing to do with it." To this Hassall declared, in a solemn and serious manner, "that no such thing was ever intended, and that, if the copy was procured, it would be much to Mr. Faden's advantage. P. 6, 7, 8. "On the Sunday following I called again on Curry, and offered him two guineas for it, not bidding him the five guineas at once, lest he should advance in his price upon me." P. 9. When it was found that I could not procure the copy, Hassall applied to Curry in person, and Mr. Faden sent for Curry to the Globe-tavern in

Fleet-

Fleet-street.—What passed there I pretend not to know; but by Curry's means it was at length procured.

“ Mr. Curry himself once declared to me, at the Ben Johnson's head in Shoe-lane, that he was offered a place of one hundred pounds *per annum*, if he would deliver the remainder of the copy, which he at that time refused to do, and did not give up till, &c. &c. page 11.

“ On the evening of the Monday before the meeting of the parliament, I was diligently sought for, in order to go with Jennings to *Philip Carteret Webb*, Esq; but not being able to be found that evening, I did not go.

“ On the Tuesday morning I had private business of my own at the West end of the town, and as I was coming through the Strand, on my return, I was met by Mr. Faden's apprentice, who told me to go immediately to the Horn-tavern in Westminster: I went thither accordingly, and there saw the Rev. Mr. Kidgell, *Philip Carteret Webb*, Esq; Mr. Faden, printer in Fleet-street, Half-penny-lane, near St. Dunstons, p. 12, &c.”

In the King's-Bench.

The KING against JOHN WILKES, Esq;

On an information for publishing the Essay on Woman.

GEORGE KEARSLY, of Ludgate-street, London, bookseller, maketh oath and saith, That all the letters from John Wilkes, Esq; the defendant, directed to the deponent, and which were produced at the trial of the cause, were taken from out of this deponent's bureau in his dwelling-house, and from off his files, by virtue of a General Warrant from one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled the *North Briton*, No. 45, together with their papers, and thereby and not otherwise carried to his Majesty's secretaries of state, as the Warrant directed, and the deponent verily believes was accordingly obeyed.

GEO. KEARSLY.

Sworn in Court the 16th day of
June, 1768.

By the Court.

The like affidavit was made at the same time in the cause of the *North Briton*, Number 45.

I shall now, Sir, beg leave to give you an extract from *Mr. Wilkes's letter to the Worthy Electors of the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Bucks, dated Paris, Oct. 22, 1764, relative to the Essay on Woman.*

“ I now proceed to the other charge brought against me, which respects an idle poem, called an *Essay on Woman*, and a few other detached verses. If so much had not been said on this subject, I should be superior to entering upon any justification of myself, because I will always maintain the right of private opinion in its fullest extent, when it is not followed by giving any open public offence to any establishment, or indeed to any individual. The crime commences from thence, and the magistrate has a right to

interpose, and even to punish outrageous and indecent attacks on what any community has decreed to be sacred. Not only the rules of good breeding, but the laws of society, are then infringed. In my own closet I had a right to examine, and even to try by the keen edge of ridicule, any opinions I pleased. If I have laughed pretty freely at the glaring absurdities of the most monstrous Creed that was ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of Christians; a creed which our great Tillotson *wished the church of England was fairly rid of*, it was in private I laughed. I am not the first good Protestant, who has amused himself with the egregious nonsense, and silly conceits, of that strange, perplexed and perplexing mortal, that *Saint* of more admirable swallow and more happy digestion than any of the tribe, *Athanasius*. I gave, ever no offence to any one individual of the community. The fact is, that after the affair of the *North Briton*, the Government bribed one of my servants to *steal* a part of the *Essay on Woman*, and the other pieces, out of my house. Not quite a *fourth* part of the volumes had been printed at my own private press. The work had been discontinued for several months, before I had the least knowledge of the theft. Of that *fourth* part only twelve copies were worked off, and I never gave one of those copies to any friend. In this infamous manner did Government get possession of this new subject of accusation, and, except in the case of Algernon Sydney, of this new species of crime; for a *Stuart* only could make the refinement in tyranny of ransacking and robbing the recesses of closets and studies in order to convert *private amusements* into *state crimes*. After the servant had been bribed to commit the theft in his master's house, the most abandoned man of the age, who in this *virtuous* reign had risen to be secretary of state, was bribed to make a complaint to the *House of* — that I had *published* an infamous *poem*, which no man there had ever seen. It was read before that great assembly of *grave* — and *pious* — excellent judges of wit and poetry, and was ordered to lie for the — to copy and to *publish* through the nation. The whole of this proceeding was, I own, a public insult on order and decency, but it was committed by the — not by the accused member of the House of Commons. The neat, prim, smirking *chaplain* of that Babe of Grace, that *gude Cheeld* of the prudish kirk of Scotland, the Earl of M — was highly offended at my having made an *Essay on Woman*. His nature could not forgive me that *ineffable* crime, and his own conduct did not afford me the shadow of an apology. In great wrath he drew his grey goose quill against me. The *pious* Peer caught the alarm, and they both poured forth most woeful lamentations, their tender hearts over-whelmed with *grief*, or as the *chaplain*, who held the pen, said, with *grief of griefs*. He proceeded to make very unfair extracts, and afterwards to *be-note* them in the foulest manner. The most vile blasphemies were forged, and published as part of a work, which in reality contained nothing but fair ridicule on some doctrines I could not believe, mock panegyrick flowing from mere envy, which sickened at the *superior parts and abilities*, as well

as *wondrous deeds* of a man I could not love, a few portraits drawn from warm life, with the too high colouring of a youthful fancy, and two or three descriptions, perhaps too luscious, which though *Nature* and *Woman* might pardon, a Kidgell and a ——— could not fail to condemn."

I shall conclude the whole with what Mr. Wilkes said on this subject, when he was before the Court of King's Bench on the 20th of April last :

" As to the other charge against me for the publication of a poem, which has given just offence, I will assert, that such an idea never entered my mind. I blush again at the recollection that it has been at any time, and in any way, brought to the public eye, and drawn from the obscurity in which it remained under my roof. Twelve copies of a small part of it had been printed in my house at my own private press. I had carefully locked them up, and I never gave one to the most intimate friend. Government, after the affair of the North Briton, bribed one of my servants to rob me of the copy, which was produced in the House of Peers, and afterwards before this honourable Court. The nation was justly offended, but not with me, for it was evident that I had not been guilty of the least offence to the publick. I pray God to forgive, as I do, the Jury, who have found me guilty of publishing a poem I concealed with care, and which is not even yet published, if any precise meaning can be affixed to any word in our language."

I am, &c.

June 22.

A. B.

From the St. James's CHRONICLE.

S I R,

I SHOULD have imagined that a man, who had more than once risked his life in consequence of a great plan of political liberty, suffered a long exile from his native country, been expelled the senate, robbed and plundered by ministerial ruffians, outlawed, twice imprisoned, and all the blood-hounds of the law let loose to tear him to pieces, and yet had borne all this, not only with fortitude, but without the least degree of peevishness, would have met with universal regard, and the snakes of envy have ceased to hiss at such a being. I was mistaken, and did not attend to what is very obvious, that hissing is as much in nature to some creatures, as cooing or singing to others.

I was likewise inclined to think, that if a man had voted constantly in parliament for the liberty and true interest of this nation, against the arbitrary *Excise*, the infamous *Peace of Paris*, &c. &c. and had been so happy as to annihilate the power of issuing *General Warrants*, and of *seizing the papers* of the subject, so often in vain complained of, and so oppressive, till he stood
forth

forth for his country, he would have found in the country, of which he had deserved so well, every tongue to applaud, every heart to approve his conduct. But, alas! fir, I had not calculated the prevalence of envy, of private interest, of court sycophancy, and of that spirit of slavery, congenial to all courtiers, which actuates almost every dependent of every king. To give you a true idea of courtiers in this kingdom, only walk, fir, in the park, any where near St. James's, and mark what passes. You will probably hear the cry of *Wilkes and liberty*. If you see any courtier, observe his looks, and how that sound grates on his ear, whether he be the well-fed brawny lord C—— himself, or the half-starved scullion of the royal kitchen. At the word *Wilkes*, he will look fretful and angry, but as soon as *liberty* salutes his ear, he will grow in a rage, and be half frantic. The first, however, he might be brought to bear, if he saw him bowing at court; but to the last, nothing could ever reconcile him. I do not believe there is an echo in that contagious air would repeat either of those words, and they would certainly blister the tongue of a placeman, or pensioner, who could be fool-hardy enough on a trial to get the courage to pronounce them. But go into any other part of this great city, or country, you will find the name of *Wilkes* pronounced and heard with pleasure, that of *liberty* with rapture, so well do the sons of England know the value of that blessing, so grateful are they to its friends, who they are sensible must be their own.

I think, fir, Mr. Wilkes is almost indemnified for his sufferings by the words *Wilkes and liberty* becoming synonymous in English; but he has met with a still nobler consolation, under the rancour and malignity of courts, both of kings and political judges, as well as the treachery of some great friends, whom it is a pity he ever trusted, for he found in them, as Tully says, *nihil boni præter causam*, and that they afterwards left; I mean the applause and affection of all the real friends of this country, and the tribute which the muses have paid to his merit. I know how very grateful to a man of letters, and of an elegant mind, the incense of a well-turned panegyrick is, I shall therefore select for my countryman, and the public, and bring into one point of view, all that has been said of him by the first poet of this age, whom he loved and admired, by Mr. Churchill, and only add, that there are some words of Juvenal more applicable to him than any I have seen among the various mottoes under his prints,

Civis erat, qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero.

Mean narrow maxims, which enslave mankind,
Ne'er from its bias warp thy settled mind;
Not dup'd by party, nor opinions save,
Those faculties, which bounteous nature gave,
Thy honest spirit into practice brings,
Nor courts the smile, nor dreads the frown of kings, &c.
Unwilling

Unwilling to condemn, thy soul disdains
To wear vile faction's arbitrary chains,
And strictly weighs, in apprehension clear,
Things as they are, and not as they appear.
With thee good-humour tempers lively wit,
Enthron'd with judgment, candour loves to sit,
And nature gave thee, open to distress,
A heart to pity, and a hand to bless.

Prophecy of Famine.

When *Wilkes* our countryman, our common friend,
Arose, his king, his country to defend;
When tools of pow'r he bar'd to public view,
And from their holes the sneaking cowards drew,
When rancour found it far beyond her reach
To soil his honour, and his truth impeach, &c.

Epistle to Hogarth.

What if ten thousand *Butes* and *Hollands* howl,
One *Wilkes* hath made a large amends for all.

The Consequence.

Might tear up freedom by the root,
Destroy a *Wilkes*, and fix a *Butt*, &c.
All friends of *Liberty*, when fate
Prepar'd to shorten *Wilkes's* date,
Heav'd, deeply hurt, the heart-felt groan,
And knew that wound to be their own, &c.
Old time himself, his scythe thrown by,
Himself lost in eternity,
An everlasting crown shall twine
To make a *Wilkes* and *Sidney* join, &c.

————— that their reign
Might longer last, to work the bane
Of one firm patriot, whose heart, tied
To honour, all their power defied,
And brought those actions into light
They wish'd to have conceal'd in night, &c.
Plotting destruction 'gainst a head
Whose wisdom could not be mislead,
Plotting destruction 'gainst a heart
Which ne'er from honour would depart, &c.

Hath not his spirit dar'd oppose
Our dearest measures, made our name
Stand forward on the roll of shame?
Hath he not won the vulgar tribes
By scorning menaces and bribes?
And proving, that his darling cause
Is of their liberties and laws
To stand the champion? — &c.

he, without fear,
Hath dar'd to make the *Truth* appear.

The Duellist.
Enough

Enough of *Wilkes*—with good and honest men.
 His actions speak much stronger than my pen,
 And future ages shall his name adore,
 When he can act, and I can write no more.
England may prove ungrateful and unjust,
 But fost'ring *France* shall ne'er betray her trust,
 'Tis a brave debt which gods on men impose,
 To pay with praise the merit e'en of foes.
 When the great warrior of *Amilcar's* race
 Made *Rome's* wide empire tremble to her base,
 To prove her virtue, tho' it gall'd her pride,
Rome gave that fame which *Carthage* had deny'd.

The Candidate.

And, tho' by *fools* despis'd, by *Saints* unblest'd,
 By *friends* neglected, and by *foes* oppress'd,
 Scorning the servile arts of each court-elf,
 Founded on honour, *Wilkes* is still himself.

Gotbam.

The the Printer of the St. J. CHRONACLE.

S I R,

I Send you the following *Affidavit*, because I observe, that Mr. *Wilkes* chuses to submit his whole conduct to the public; and I think the nation hath a right to know every step he takes in an affair of such moment, for the liberty of the subject, so grossly violated by the *general warrant* in question. As this affair greatly interests every Englishman, I hope lord Halifax will be equally careful to lay before the public his proceedings, as I dare say, Mr. *Wilkes* will every measure he pursues. In the whole of this business, whatever be his lordship's conduct, Mr. *Wilkes* seems inclined to say with Pope, (*Warburton's Edition*, Vol. VII. p. 302) " Let him be proud of the approbation of his absolute lord, (lord B—) I appeal to the people, as my rightful judges and masters; and if they are not inclined to condemn me, I fear no arbitrary high-flying proceeding from the small court faction.

Affidavit of the service of notice of motion for the first day of next Hillary term.

In the Common Pleas.

John *Wilkes*, Esq; against the
 earl of Halifax.

THOMAS TRUNDLE, clerk to John Reynolds, of Lime-street, London, gentleman, attorney for John *Wilkes*, Esquire, the plaintiff in this cause, maketh oath, that he did, on the 20th day of June instant, personally serve Mr. Barnes, attorney or agent for the defendant above-named, with a notice in writing,
 pur-

purporting, that on the first day of next Hillary Term, or so soon after as council can be heard, the plaintiff intends to move his majesty's court of Common Pleas, that he may be at liberty to withdraw his demurrer, and reply to the defendant's plea.

THOMAS TRUNDLE.

Sworn at my Chambers in Serjeant's
Inn, the 23d Day of June, 1768,
before

H. GOULD.

R H A D A M A N T H U S, No. 2.

— Coll—, Cambridge, 10th June.

MR. RHADAMANTHUS,

I Like your classical name, and am well pleased with the contents of your Phillippic —. I have lived in this place above twenty-nine years, and am said to know a good deal of the world; for I read all the political papers, and endeavour to believe every assertion, both for, and against every body.—Your account of the duke's character, differs prodigiously from the ideas lately inculcated in our common-room.—Three of our leading men whisper that his grace is the properest man in the world to be our next chancellor—so, if I do not accede when it comes to a push, I am likely to be deprived of my pupils; and, if I do accede, I shall not get so much as the promise of a curacy in return for my vote. I should not care if we were all to be honest; but it makes one discontented you know, sir, and is against the fitness of things to be miserable oneself, and to see others *get two fleecles apiece besides chaplainships*.—They have large promises from a person who is said to be his grace's most intimate friend.—He looks indeed like an humble companion only, but must be a gentleman, for his words and gestures, they say, are in the highest degree courteous and complaisant.—I was induced by your paper to form a very bad opinion of his grace: and therefore took the first opportunity to read it in a crowded common-room.—The leading men declare that you are totally wrong: I wish to set you right, and will therefore state their arguments, which have convinced me—they all affirm that his grace is not guilty of wilful adultery, because he certainly intends to marry the lady, if it should ever be in his power.—Dr. Spavin, who has had the honour to dine with her, says, that it cannot possibly be a passion of

the carnal kind.—As to his duplicity and false promises, they have good reasons not to believe you—as to his avarice, it is none of their business to pry into private affairs: and there is no appearance of parsimony in the disposal of the public revenues—and as to his political abilities, they admit that the nation in that respect finds him inferior to their present chancellor, yet he is *a great man*, and has sense enough to answer every university purpose.

Your humble servant,

ISAAC QUADRANT.

Mr. Quadrant will excuse me for having omitted two pages of his letter,—they were not very interesting to the public, though it gave me infinite pleasure to learn that my first number was written in a species of logic, called “the combined conditional Syllogism.”—I must be ingenuous enough at the same time to confess that Aristotle had so thorough a contempt for the “hypothesis;” that he has not even mentioned it.—I am not so much obliged to my correspondent for the appellation of Phillippic given to my paper—it is the attribute of Rhadamanthus “*to have a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.*”——The jurisdiction which I have assumed, extends only to matters of a public nature.—Had his grace therefore confined his follies and vices to that obscurity for which they are calculated, he might have lived *the jest of a jockey club, and the play-thing of a superannuated prostitute*, without let or molestation: but, since with no more abilities than would be sufficient to qualify a gentleman usher, he hath by a series of shallow plausibility, and the favour of blind chance been raised to his present conspicuous station, the discussion of his merits is become a very serious object.—“*A minister (says Dr. Swift) hath no virtue, for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which it must not certainly be a loser.*”——My only view hath been without hard constructions or strained inferences to exhibit a plain unaffected narrative of notorious facts,—if they should be such as to excite the indignation of this age, and the contempt of posterity, I can only say, “*me non famam curiosis, non diversas spes, sed rerum veritatem, et reipublicæ incolumitatem simpliciter spectasse.*”

I have not leisure at present, to consider the conduct of that learned body, which on another occasion, gave half its suffrages to the most profligate man existing, whose public breach of private confidence and friendship, seems by this forgiving age to be already forgotten.

AN

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

The History of Hindostan by Mahummud Casim Ferishta of Delhi, translated by Alexander Dow, 2 vols. Quarto. boards, 1l. 10s. Becket.

THIS history is one of the most extraordinary performances which has appeared in Europe for many years. The affairs of Hindostan were unknown before, which we now see have been written with more certainty, minuteness, and with less prejudice than those of any European nation. This history is a book of the greatest merit, and not inferior in its kind to any of either Greece or Rome. We are deprived at first of a great part of the pleasure we should have in reading it by the difficulty of remembering the names of places and persons which are so numerous in an abridgement, and to which we have not been accustomed. The narration, description, and justness of the author's reflections upon the different events and characters of principal people, must be admired by every impartial person of good taste. Though we do not understand the Persian language, it is impossible not to attribute the greatest merit to the translator. The account which he has given us of the present state of Hindostan, is instructive and entertaining: We hope that he will continue his plan, and not be offended at the little low dirty jealousy, which must of course pursue merit of every kind. The translation of Baber's Commentaries, and Abul Fazil's Akbar Namma, would be a most agreeable present to Europe.

A Second Letter to the Right Honourable Thomas Harley, Esq; Lord-Mayor of the City of London.

THIS is not the only letter, which has been addressed to the present intrepid and warm Mæcenas of the city. The author of the former letter, which we have reviewed in our last Number seems to think that the author of this has

availed himself of the title and success of his letter. In consequence of which he advertised that this was the production of another hand; he need not have advertised it, for every one could perceive it. The wit of this being as much superior to that in his, as the wit of Aristophanes and Lucian are superior to that of Tom Brown and Joe Miller.

His reflections on the publication of the Poll for the city of London are droll enough, and, as they are intended to damp the vanity of the most vain man in London, appear with great propriety.

The author on the whole, seems to have as much humanity as wit, and deplores the *loss* that the *publisher* of the poll must *suffer* with a pathos, which is becoming of a man of sense and a Christian.

“*The Princess of Babylon, translated from the French of Mr. Voltaire.* Bladen. 8vo.

THE author's name, is too well known to the literary world to leave it in any doubt concerning the merit of his performance. The same vivacity and invention which are to be met with in his other works, are to be found in this; and if his intention was to *entertain*, he has succeeded to the height of his wishes. It were indeed to be wished that age had made him a little more serious, and that, instead of throwing out oblique hints against the sacred books, he would employ his talents in enforcing their doctrines, explaining their difficulties, and establishing their authority. But Voltaire will be Voltaire to the last; and instead of profiting by the remonstrances, which have already been made to him on this score, will endeavour to render the adviser ridiculous. The conclusion of this work acquits us from being censorious, and shews, that our sentiments in this particular, are founded upon fact.

The heroine of this romance is Formosante, the daughter of Belus king of Babylon. She is represented to be so handsome, that in succeeding times, according to our author, “Praxiteles sculptured his Aphrodita, and the Venus of Medicis, from her pictures.” Being now of an age fit for marriage, three suitors appear to demand her in form, who are represented by Voltaire in his usual drollery. They were the three kings of Egypt, India, and Scythia. But it being ordained by an ancient oracle, that Formosante could be given only to one, who could bend the bow of Nimbrod, or Nimrod, kill the fiercest lion that could be let loose in the circus of
Babylon,

Babylon, and was not only very sagacious, but likewise the most virtuous of men, and should possess the greatest curiosity in the universe; the three kings being informed of the conditions on which they were to possess the princess of Babylon, appear at the place of trial. Pharaoh the king of Egypt was mounted upon the bull Apis; the Shah of India was drawn in a car by twelve Elephants, and the Khan of the Scythians was mounted upon a tyger of his own taming. The competitors cast lots to determine the order of trial. But while they were preparing for the rencounter, a young stranger appears mounted upon an unicorn, accompanied by his valet, and bearing on his hand a large bird. He is said to have the face of Adonis upon the body of Hercules, and to charm all the beholders. Formosante herself kept her eyes fixed upon him and blushed, the three kings turned pale, and the spectators cried that no one but he could be as handsome as Formosante. The king of Egypt begins the trial, and by his ridiculous contortions in endeavouring to bend the bow of Nimrod, filled the whole amphitheatre with laughter. The bow was next put into the hands of the king of India, and blistered them for a fortnight. The Scythian bent it a little, but could never bring it any thing near a curve. The unknown youth then leaped into the arena, and putting an arrow upon the string, made it fly beyond the gates. The conquest of the lion being proposed next, the kings of Egypt and India decline the trial, and the king of Scythia alone submitted to it. In his rencounter he had the mischance to break his sword against the lion's teeth; and when his life was in imminent danger, was rescued by the unknown youth, who cut off the lion's head. The head being cleaned, is presented to the princess by the bird, after the sockets of the teeth were filled with diamonds. Belus sending to inform himself of the stranger's quality, is surprized to hear that he was a shepherd's son, and thinking him unworthy of his daughter on account of the meanness of his rank, has recourse to the oracle for advice, which informs him that his daughter *should not marry till she had travelled over the world*. Previous to this, the young stranger, who is called Amazan, receives advice that Ormar his father was at the point of death. On this account, he sets out immediately to pay his last devoirs, having first made his apology to the king of Babylon, and presented his bird to Formosante his daughter. The description of this bird is full of the marvellous. He is represented as being twenty seven thousand, nine hundred years and six months old, as being endued with the gift of speech, and

and to complete the joke, is expressly named a Phenix. The meaning of the oracle being explained away to the king of Babylon, so as to signify only a pilgrimage, he consents to his daughter's going to a temple in Arabia. During this interval, the princess has a conversation with the bird, he informs her that the stranger's name was Amazan, and that he belonged to the country of the Gangarids, who inhabit the eastern shore, and are a virtuous and an invincible people. The description of this nation is not unlike that of the people of *Eldorado* in our author's *Candide*. The morning after this conversation, the king of Babylon informs his daughter of the response of the oracle, who was resolved to make use of his compliance with it, as a means of going in quest of her dear Amazan. The remainder of the volume consists of a variety of incidents which happened in, and a description of those countries she passes through in her route. As a specimen of the rest, we shall extract that which relates to our own country, not only as more interesting to ourselves; but likewise as tending to show what idea is entertained of us by foreign nations.

Formosante having continued her pursuit after her dear Amazan over the greatest part of the continent, got intelligence that he was sailed for Albion: and after hiring two vessels to carry her to that happy island, was detained by contrary winds for above eight days. In the mean time Amazan was on the road to the capital of Albion, in his coach and six unicorns, all his thoughts being employed on his dear princess. At a distance he perceived a carriage overturned in a ditch: the servants had gone different ways in quest of assistance: but the owner kept his seat, *smoking his pipe* with great tranquility, his name was the lord *What-then*.

Amazan made all haste possible to help him, and with his single arm set the carriage to rights. My lord *What-then* took no other notice of him, than saying, *a stout fellow by god*. In the mean time the country people being come up, flew into a great passion for being called for nothing, and fell upon the stranger, abusing him, calling him *outlandish dog*, and challenging him to *strip and box*.

Amazan seized a brace of them in each hand, and threw them twenty paces from him; the rest seeing this, pulled off their hats, and bowing with great respect, asked *his honour for something to drink*. My lord *What-then* now expressed great esteem for him, and asked him to dinner at his country-house. His invitation being accepted of, he went into Amazan's coach.—After a quarter of an hour's silence, my lord

lord *What-then* looking upon Amazon for a moment, said, *how d'ye do?* which, by the way, is a phrase without any meaning. After which he fell a *smoking* as usual. The traveller took occasion to inform him that he brought his unicorns from the country of the *Gangarids*.—My lord remained dumb for another quarter of an hour; after which he asked his companion, a second time, *how he did*, and whether they had any *good roast beef* among the *Gangarids*. Amazon answered, that they did not eat their brethren on the banks of the Ganges; and then explained to him the Pythagorean system of philosophy. But my lord *fell asleep* in the mean time, and made but one nap of it till he came to his own house.

He was married to a young and charming woman, on whom nature had bestowed a soul as lively and sensible, as her husband's was dull and stupid. She had none of the awkward, affected stiffness, or false modesty, with which the young ladies of Albion were then reproached. Never was a woman more engaging. She received Amazon with a grace and politeness that was quite natural to her. Dinner being served, she placed Amazon at her side. His beauty and strength, the manners of the *Gangarids*, the progress of religion, arts, and government were the subjects of their conversation, which lasted till night; during which, my lord *What-then* did nothing but *push the bottle about*; and called for the toast.

After dinner, the young stranger entered into a long conversation with a *member of parliament*, about the laws; customs, &c. which made his country so respectable. The discourse of the member is to this effect. For a long time we went *stark-naked*; we were likewise for a long time *enslaved* by a people from the ancient country of Saturn, watered by the river Tiber. But the mischiefs *we have done one another*, have greatly exceeded all that ever we suffered from our first conquerors. One of our princes carried his dastardliness to so high a pitch, as to declare himself *the subject* of a *priest*, who dwells also on the banks of the Tiber, and is called the *old man of the seven mountains*.

To these times of infamy, succeeded the ages of barbarity and confusion. Our country has been ravaged and drenched in blood by our *civil discords*; many of our crowned heads have perished by a violent death; above a hundred princes of the royal blood have ended their days on the *scaffold*, whilst the *hearts* of their adherents have been torn from their breasts, and thrown in their faces. In short, it is the province of the *hangman* to write the history of our island.

But

But to crown these horrors, it is not very long since some fellows wearing *black mantles*, and others who cast white shirts over their jackets, having been bitten by *mad-dogs*, communicated their madness to the whole nation. Our country was then divided into the murderers and the murdered, and all, in *the name of God*.

Who would have imagined from this horrible abyss, this chaos of dissention, a government should at last spring up, the *most perfect*, it may be said, now in the world? yet such has been the event. A prince honoured, wealthy, all-powerful to do *good*, without *any* power to do evil, is at the head of a free, warlike, commercial nation. The nobles on the one hand, and the representatives of the people on the other, share the legislature with the monarch.—We have seen disorders, civil wars, anarchy and wretchedness lay waste the country, when our *kings* aimed at *arbitrary power*, whereas tranquillity, riches, and universal happiness have only reigned among us, when the prince has remained satisfied with a *limited authority*. Our victorious fleets carry our glory over all the ocean; our laws place our lives and fortunes in security; no *judge* can explain them in an *arbitrary* manner and no decision is ever given, without the *reasons* assigned for it. We should *punish* a JUDGE as an *assassin*, who should condemn a citizen to death, without declaring the evidence which accused him, and the law upon which he was tried.

Our author is not less free with the pope, and takes a singular pleasure in shewing his enmity to *intolerants*; after giving us a description of France, Italy, and Germany, he concludes his reflections with this observation, “the Germans are the *grey-heads* of Europe; the people of Albion are *men formed*; and the inhabitants of Gaul are the children.” After bringing Amazan and Formosante together, he concludes with a very spirited and facetious address to those who have treated his former works with any degree of severity: and seems rather merry than angry with their criticisms.

The translation from whence we have drawn this sketch, is, in many places very wrong, and wrote in so bad a stile, that the writer seems to have lost his English, by reading the French.

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T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For A U G U S T, 1768.

N U M B E R XVII.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

ON CORRUPT JUDGES.

S I R,

I Remember to have heard a wag say, that the great dealers in law have more than once wanted to sell the whole national stock of it together. And, however ludicrous the expression may appear, that facts have warranted the satire, is an indisputable truth.

During the reign of James the First, perhaps, no one so much scandalized the bench as the celebrated lord Verulam. But, under his successor, the lamb-skins appeared to be hung upon wolves, for then the dispensers of law became the gross violators of all justice.

It is true, that at first, there did appear to be some men of conscience upon the bench, for we read, that Sir Randolph Crew was displaced, in the year 1626, about the business of the general loan, the instructions to the commissioners for the raising of which were drawn in the true spirit of an inquisition: but, by displacing him, and, perhaps, some others, in the following year, we find, that when the gentlemen who had been imprisoned for refusing to lend the king money,

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sued for their release upon a *Habeas Corpus*, the judges unanimously decided the point against them.

In the affair of tonnage and poundage, the barons of the Exchequer proceeded as well against law as the sense and declarations of parliament: and in their solutions of the famous questions put to the judges, in the beginning of the year 1629, their principles were made apparent, as they likewise subsequently were, by the enormous fines which they laid on merchants, imprisoned members, and others.

In the iniquitous affair of ship-money, which was invented by a lawyer, (the turncoat, prostitute Noy, who sold his conscience and country for the office of attorney-general) the whole body of judges signed an opinion for which simple hanging would, in justice, have been too slight a punishment. It is true, indeed, we are told, that two out of the twelve, Hutton and Crooke, did not really agree in opinion with the rest, but were prevailed on to sign with them, as the opinion of the body; so that it may be said they were villains through cowardice, but the others were such from principle. Great, however, we must acknowledge the merits of Mrs. Crooke to have been at that time, to the reproach of her husband, from the honourable part she acted, in spurring him up to a manly discharge of conscience, in the case of Mr. Hampden; though pity it was, the good old lady could not be put in his place, as she certainly would have made the best judge of the whole set. But the true sense of the nation in general concerning the affair of ship-money, was expressed in the famous speech which the great lord Falkland made in the House of Commons upon that subject, in the year 1640: and it occasioned such proceedings, as, in the end, caused an abolition of the tax by act of parliament, and also a prosecution of the judges and others, who had been concerned in establishing it.

Thus did the great lawyers of those times endeavour to subvert the constitution in favour of regal despotism. But their aim was so widely missed, that their endeavours served, in the issue, to produce the opposite effect, by the introduction of anarchy, which led to democratic confusion, military violence, a mockery of justice, and a reproach to the nation.

Yet when monarchy and the laws became happily restored again, such fatal examples of the effects of corrupt practices in the courts failed to preserve long the awful seats therein undefiled. The reign of Charles the Second proved alike fruitful in violences and oppressions from the administration of justice: nay, the iniquities of courts of judicature then soared above all examples of former times; for murders and mischiefs

mischiefs of every kind became abundant, from evident corrupt influence, and the most partial determinations. Sham plots, malicious prosecutions, illegal fines and condemnations, cruel executions, nay imputed murders, perpetrated in secret, as well as with the mockery of open justice, by means of packed juries, may be said to have astonished and terrified the whole nation. The chief corporations of the kingdom were intimidated into a surrender of their charters; nay, that of London was forcibly taken away by an unjust sentence of the judges of the King's Bench; and though afterwards agreed to be restored, on dishonourable conditions, yet the king repented of that favour, and entirely abolished the privileges of the chief city in his dominions.

When the nation had become more than half enslaved by the wickedness of his counsels, James the Second mounted the throne, with fair professions in his mouth, but a fixed determination in his mind, with all possible expedition, to accomplish his wicked project, for destroying the liberties, laws, and religion of the kingdom. Some of the first acts of his administration were those of collecting customs, duties, and an excise by proclamations, which could not constitutionally be his due till granted by parliament: and yet how very favourably some lawyers thought of such proceedings will presently be shewn.

In this reign the corrupt judges and lawyers most conspicuously figured. It was almost begun with the persecution (we can call it no better) of Oates, Dangerfield, and Baxter; the former of whom, we may, at least, say, was inhumanly tortured; the second, cruelly treated by the law, and afterwards murdered by a lawyer; and the latter, though a man of a most respectable character, was, on his trial, treated by lord chief-justice Jefferies with the utmost insolence and brutality, who even extorted from the jury the penalties inflicted on him,

After the defeat of the insatuated duke of Monmouth, and his few followers, what a campaign (as the king himself called it) did the bloody-minded Jefferies, and his military colleague, *Kirk*, make in the western counties! where, some historians say, above six hundred persons were hanged. Never before that barbarous expedition was there heard of executions being made substitutes to the usual methods of saluting with artillery: but these men were turned off upon gibbets, ten at a health, by the savage *Kirk*; and he probably would have been pledged as loyally by Jefferies, had the latter been apprised of the frolic; for his disposition to barbarity can in no point be doubted. Nor indeed was the spirit

of tyrannical executions confined to the west; for at London, about the same time, there were examples bad enough of such violent measures.

These strange proceedings were followed by a rapid advance of Popery and prerogative in Ireland, and in Scotland a total submission to absolute power; while, in England, by the displacing of but four judges, in order to make room for a like number, with more pliable consciences, he got the following points settled for general rules of law by that venerable body. 1st. "That all the laws of England are the king's laws. 2dly. That therefore it is an incident, inseparable prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to *dispense* with all *penal laws* in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons. 3dly. That of these reasons and necessities the king is the sole judge; consequently, 4thly. That this is *not a trust* invested in, and granted to the king, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be."

From such a body of judges better determinations were not rationally to be expected. Nay, they even submitted to receive orders from the chancellor, to use their authority, on their circuits, for confirming the right, assumed by the king, of dispensing with the laws, and for discouraging all whom they found of in compliant tempers; which orders, we read, they executed with extreme rigour and insolence.

But such a disposition in lawyers was by no means confined to the order of judges; for the following very extraordinary address was presented to the king on the 11th of June, 1687, by the society of the Middle Temple:

"May it please your Majesty,
 "WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, to our
 "great joy, have received a happy occasion of making this
 "declaration of our gratitude: and as we know that your
 "majesty's goodness is the greatest that ever was shewn by
 "a prince to his subjects, so we wish the voice of men and
 "angels, to return sufficient thanks for your majesty's *con-*
 "*descension* and clemency to all your subjects in your gracious
 "declaration for toleration. And as for this compassion and
 "goodness, thanks ought to be paid to your majesty by all
 "your subjects, so we especially of the profession of the law,
 "have reason to be thankful for the honour you have done us, by
 "asserting your royal prerogative, which is the very life of the
 "law and our profession. Which prerogatives, AS THEY ARE
 "GIVEN BY GOD HIMSELF, so we declare, that no power on
 "earth can diminish them, but they must always remain entire
 "and

“and inseparable to your royal person. Which prerogatives, as we have studied to know them, so are we resolved to defend them; by asserting with our lives and fortunes, that divine maxim, *A Deo rex, a rege lex*. And now as a testimony of our perfect satisfaction in this our address and acknowledgment, we have subscribed our names, that your majesty may know us to be YOURS; and that the rest of our profession may follow our example: and therefore we beg your majesty will accept of this address from us; who, in conclusion, make bold to offer our best wishes, and hearty desires, that your majesty’s councils may prosper in wisdom, your kingdom flourish in peace, and your royal person enjoy a long, happy, and glorious reign over us, &c.”

These must be pronounced to have made an extraordinary gang of law-mongers indeed! such as might say, like the thieves in the Beggars Opera, “Shew us a gang of courtiers who will say more.” They must surely have been all in a most wonderful hurry to get made chancellors, chief-justices, &c. They shewed themselves no sneakers, but swingers in their professions: and their principles were undoubtedly of a piece. Yet we hear of no suitable rewards bestowed on their extreme loyalty after the revolution, farther than that their address was burnt by the hands of the common hangman; for their persons remained unmolested, and their dwellings unrazed. But we must, in justice, acknowledge, that there were then some few lawyers of another stamp: men whose honour would not permit them to disguise their true sentiments, and whose consciences obliged them to resign, or refuse high offices, in order to avoid being made instrumental in the overthrow of the religion, liberty, and laws of their country.

It is, however, melancholy to reflect, that no prince, who has sought to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, ever found himself in want of assistance therein from that order of men, whose more peculiar duty it is always to defend it. But, thank heaven, such can no longer be the case, as the Revolution provided for the independency of judges; and therefore we should hope, that no dangerous subserviency, or treachery, can ever in them be suspected or apprehended again; more especially as under a government established on the principles of resistance, in support of rights inherent in the people, prerogative-judges and lawyers must ever be considered as alike dangerous to the sovereign, and pernicious to the state.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following Narrative is submitted to the Public in general; and particularly to the Members of the Hon. ARTILLERY COMPANY.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat, Cicero.

ON the 19th of April, 1768, being the day before Mr. Wilkes went up to the Court of King's-Bench, a message was sent in the evening to the house of Mr. North, armourer to, and one of the court of assistants of, the honourable Artillery Company, purporting, That the right honourable the L—— M—— wanted to speak with him immediately at the Mansion-house. Upon which Mr. North, who was spending the evening in company at some distance from home, was sent to; and he directly went to the Mansion-house, where he was informed, that the L—— M—— was gone out, and that the business he was wanted upon was about securing the arms belonging to the Artillery Company; but Mr. Crocker, the messenger of that company, being present, told Mr. North, that (as he should be at the Mansion-house the next morning) he would bring word to him of the particulars of the business that his Lordship had sent for him upon.

Agreeably to this Mr. Crocker called the next day, and left a verbal message from the L—— M——, with Mr. North's servant, to this effect, That Mr. North must go or send immediately up to the armoury, to take off the locks from the guns, and to give the locks into the custody of Mr. Crocker the messenger, for him to secure them where he should think proper.

This message was accordingly delivered to Mr. North; but as he had never known that the L—— M—— either had, or claimed, any authority over the Artillery Company, or over the officers, members, or servants thereof, he therefore declined putting this order in execution.

About three weeks after this, Mr. Crocker called upon Mr. North, with a message for him to attend the L—— M——, which he immediately did; when his L——p demanded the reason why his orders were not complied with by taking off the locks of the militia guns, as his L——p was pleased to term them. Mr. North then acquainted his L——p, That the firelocks at the armoury did not belong to the militia, but were the property of the Hon. Artillery Company; and as they

they were put in his possession by that Company, he would not comply with his L——p's order; but that if the court of assistants of that Company should make such an order, or any other, he would obey it. His L——p then declared, that he would send the arms to the Tower; and again interrogated Mr. North, Whether he would obey his injunctions? which Mr. North, for the above-mentioned reasons, again refused.

Soon after Mr. North left the Mansion-house, his L——p sent a gentleman to him with a peremptory order to deliver up the keys of the presses where the arms delivered into his care by the Artillery Company were deposited: But his L——p surely could not think that the man who just before had refused his L——p in person, would now be prevailed on by a message only, to deliver up those keys which he had been entrusted with by a public Company.

Notwithstanding these repeated refusals, and Mr. North's having represented to the gentlemen who brought the message from the L—— M——, that his L——p had no power over the Artillery Company, but that the president was at the head of that Company, yet that night, or early the next morning, a detachment of soldiers were sent up to the armoury, attended by the messenger of the Company, and the presses were broke open, and all the arms, serviceable and unserviceable, sent to the Tower, without the least leave or licence from the president, vice president, treasurer, or court of assistants.

At the first meeting of the court of assistants, after the arms were taken away, Mr. North attended, and justified his conduct by the laws of the Company; the first of which is, "That the Company shall be governed by a president, vice president, treasurer, and court of assistants, who of course have, or ought to have, the sole right of altering or disposing of the arms and stores of that Company, as well as of making all laws for the good government of the Company, for which they are amenable to no other court except the annual general court."

A gentleman who attended at this meeting informed the court, that he was come on purpose to acquaint them, That if they proceeded to any violent measures, it might be attended with serious consequences; that they were to remember, that most of them held commissions under the Lieutenancy; and that it would be very imprudent in them to affront certain persons in power. Such was the force of this argument, that it actually prevailed on a majority of the court of assistants of the Artillery Company to pass a vote of thanks

thanks to the L— M— for what he had ordered to be done; and Mr. G—, who is clerk to the Lieutenancy, and lieut. col. C— n, who holds a place in the excise, were ordered to wait upon his L— p with such thanks: and though it was thought by some, that this message ought not to be sent to his L— p till the vote of thanks were confirmed at another meeting, yet it did not appear in this light to them; they took the first opportunity, before the next meeting of the court, to wait upon his L— p. It was fortunate that they did so: for at the next meeting the vote of thanks was rescinded.

On the 28th of June a court of Lieutenancy was held at Guildhall, at which the L— M— presided. How the Artillery Company and Mr. North were depicted there, will appear by the following resolution.

At a Court of L— held at G—, London, on Tuesday the 28th of June, 1768.

IT having been represented to this court by the right honourable T— H—, L— M—, That his L— p has been treated with great contempt by Edward North, armourer to, and one of the court of assistants of, the Artillery Company, on a requisition made to him by his L— p, to take off the locks of the small arms belonging to the said Company, to prevent their falling into the hands of riotous and turbulent persons, in the time of the late disturbances in this city and neighbourhood thereof: And it likewise appearing to this court, that application had been made by order of the right honourable the L— M—, to the said Edward North for the keys of the presses wherein the said arms were deposited at the armoury house, that such arms might have been removed to his majesty's Tower of London for safe custody; and that the said Edward North had refused to deliver such keys:

Resolved,

That the annual payment of one hundred and fifty pounds, allowed by this court to the Artillery Company be suspended, until the court of assistants of the said Company have made satisfaction to the right honourable the L— M— for the indignity offered his L— p by Edward North, armourer to the said Company.

Resolved,

Resolved,

That a copy of the above resolution be laid before the next court of assistants of the Artillery Company.

Signed by the C——k of this Court,

E—— G——

C——k to His M——y's C——rs of L——y
for the City of London.

Presently after this meeting of the Lieutenancy, two gentlemen waited upon Sir Robert Ladbroke, the president of the Artillery Company, to desire him to call a court of assistants of that Company, to meet on the 5th of July, instead of the 12th of July, to which day that court stood adjourned.

At the meeting of this court of assistants, where Sir Robert Ladbroke presided, the resolution of the Lieutenancy was delivered by Mr. G—— their clerk, when a motion was made, That Mr. North should be removed from the armourership of that Company; and though it could not be proved against him that he had behaved any way amiss in the duty of his office, yet the vote was carried, and he is accordingly removed.

After the removal of Mr. North from the place of armourer, a gentleman who is upon the court of assistants, and has a place in the excise, moved, That Mr. North, and all the other gentlemen, who put the negative upon the thanks to the L—— M—— might be expelled. But this motion appeared so very extraordinary, and so evidently to strike at the root of all opinion, and all Society, that the question was not put.

The resolution of the Lieutenancy is certainly one of the most extraordinary that is to be met with. That a man should be accused in a court where he could not be heard in his defence, and that the resentment of that court should fall upon a public Company, and that they must be mulcted, in order to make an atonement for the real or pretended offence of one man, is truly astonishing.

And here it may be proper to mention that lieutenant colonel C—— observed, That the expulsion of Mr. North, was the satisfaction required, but it no way appears so in the resolution of the Lieutenancy.

It is necessary to observe, That out of the sum of 150l. per annum, paid to the Artillery Company, one moiety, is, when received by the company, directly paid to the commissioned officers of the militia, who have attended the public marches of that company; and the other moiety is expended

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in the necessary expences of instructing the officers and serjeants of the militia in their duty, and in paying the serjeants for their attendance on the public marches of that Company. And no members of the Company, but those who are in commission, or serjeants, receive one farthing of it.

There are now five years in arrear, amounting to 750 l. which is all stopped by this *ex post facto* law, though they have actually done the duty required for it: This money arises out of the trophy tax paid by the citizens of London.

It is now left to the impartiality of the public, to decide upon the very extraordinary method, in which the Artillery Company, and their armourer, have been treated; and it is not doubted, but if it appear that that Company have laws of their own, that then they are to be governed by those laws, and that no magistrate has a right to dispense with them, or to endeavour, by any means, to remove a man merely for doing his duty; much less to punish a whole society for any real or supposed crime of an individual.

* * One of the principal officers in the L—— M——'s own regiment has assured Mr. North, that the loss of his place is owing to his having professed a friendship for Mr. Wilkes.

On Tuesday, July 19, at a general court of the Artillery Company, holden at the Armoury House in the Artillery-Ground, at which Sir Robert Ladbroke presided, Mr. North was now continued on the court of assistants, and unanimously re-chosen armourer.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The cry to punish the rebellious Bostonians being now universal in this country, it is but an act of common justice to those unhappy people, to hear what they have to say for themselves, before we lance our thunder against them. I therefore hope you will lay before your readers the following Extract of a Letter I have lately received from a correspondent in Boston.

"WE have now taken up the like resolution to resist the execution of the late duty-act, and all former ones where money is to be paid, as we did against the stamp-act; and as you will probably have our conduct much misrepresented by the Grenvillians, I will give you the true motives of it. We were afraid you were determined to have a revenue from us in some shape or other, and therefore we thought it best for us, as we were determined to give you none, to resist the collection of it in every shape, and that the sooner we begun, the better; because as the present duties were inconsiderable, we supposed you would

would not go to extremities with us for a trifle, and, unless you did, we were determined to shew you we would not pay a penny. Another reason still stronger for our immediate opposition was, the accounts we had of the fluctuating state of your ministry, and we were afraid we might not have as many friends about the K--- in the next arrangement as we now had.---G. C. was a loss we sensibly regretted; we knew we had nothing to fear, so long as the orders passed through him; we all had been told of his declaration, that he would sooner cut off his hand than sign an order for the military to fire upon us. We had then nothing to do but to be so very riotous, that he must see no means but the military power could prevail against us, and our business was done; we were sure, if the act was not repealed, it would never be executed, and that was pretty much the same thing: we still had comfort for his loss, by the knowledge we had of the part his successor had taken in the stamp-act affair. That noble L-- had declared against the right of parliament to tax us, and notwithstanding parliament had declared the contrary, we had that opinion of his L---p's *candour*, that he never would think it criminal in us to be of his opinion, though it might not *now* be so safe for him to declare himself of ours. His noble friend the C---r was the chief stay we trusted in; that great lawyer who told us, the law of nature required taxes to be imposed by the peoples representatives only, in the teeth of your *magna charta*; a bill of rights which do not use the term, and in defiance of all the political constitutions in the world. He, we hoped, was too conscientious a man, as well as too good a lawyer, to allow, that *where parliament had no power, parliaments saying it had*, could not give it. Could we be so lost to common sense, as not to adopt that plain mode of reasoning, and might we not expect he would become our advocate, and plead the *oppression of this act of parliament as the justifiable cause of our violence*, in like manner as he so gloriously supported us in our resistance to the stamp-act, by the same arguments. Poor old C---m we had but little hopes from, we knew it was over with him; but we thought we owed him one more occasion for *rejoicing* before he quit the stage, in gratitude for the former triumph he obtained for us over the mother country. Now, my good friend, can you blame us for making use of the present happy situation of things, to secure our independence on parliament for ever: and can you suppose our ----- will be so unjust to punish us Americans, for doing what he has rewarded Englishmen with his highest stations and fullest confidence, for declaring we had a right to do. No, my friend, we are all safe, if the present system holds, and for fear it should not, we have made dispatch."

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A Narrative of the late Proceedings at Boston; with the authentic Papers relating thereto.

Boston, June 20.

FRiday the 10th instant, towards evening, the officers of the customs of this port made a seizure of a sloop, belonging to, and lying at the wharf of John Hancock, Esq; which vessel was improved as a store, to put some barrels of oil on board, there being no room in the owner's stores on the wharf. After the officers took possession of the sloop, one of them made a signal to his majesty's ship Romney, then lying off in the harbour, whereupon the boats belonging to the said ship, were immediately

diately manned and armed, and made towards the wharf; several gentlemen present advised the officers not to move her, as there would be no attempt allowed by the owner to rescue her out of their hands; but notwithstanding this declaration, her fast was cut away, and she carried under the guns of the Romney. This conduct provoked the people who had collected on the shore, and in the dispute the collector, the comptroller of his majesty's customs, and the collector's son, were roughly used, and pelted with stones, none of them much hurt: the noise brought together a mixed multitude, who followed up to the comptroller's house, and broke a few squares of glass, but withdrew by the advice of some prudent gentlemen that interposed; they were joined by a number of sailors, and vagrant persons who were suspicious of an intention to put them on board the ship: these went in search for one of the man of war's boats, in their way met with the inspector of exports and imports, him they attacked, broke his sword, and tore his cloaths, but, by some assistance he, with difficulty, escaped to a house in King-street: no boat being on shore, about ten o'clock they went to one of the docks, and dragged out a large pleasure-boat belonging to the collector; this they drew along the street with loud huzzaing all the way, into the common, where they set fire to it, and burnt it to ashes; they also broke several windows of the houses of the collector and inspector-general, which were nigh the common: no other outrage was committed that night. There were some occurrences respecting the officers of the Romney, preceding this affair, which raised the resentment of the populace. On the Sunday evening before, a press-gang went on board a vessel just arrived from Glasgow, and which came to an anchor off the long wharf; the impress men took an opportunity, while the man of war's men were furling the sails for them, and got into the ship's boat and rowed ashore; it being after sun-set, several people had assembled on the wharf in the cool of the day, who made way for the men to run up; the press-gang, as soon as they could get to their boat, pursued them, crying out, Stop deserters; but no heed being given thereto, an officer on the wharf resented it, which raised a clamour, and prevented the gang from landing. A few days after, a young man who had served an apprenticeship in this town, was impressed out of an inward-bound ship; application was made to the captain (who, it is said, promised not to detain any inhabitant of these provinces) and he engaged to deliver him up if an able-bodied man was brought in his room; such an one was procured for three or four guineas, but, upon his being carried on board the Romney, was refused, as the officers of the ship had been insulted in the above affair; many things were said to the person who went to get the young man released, reflecting on the town, and not without some threats. The day following a man was taken out of an eastern vessel by an armed schooner that was bound to Halifax: these transactions, with a prospect of the trade and business of this and the other towns being in a manner ruined, raised such a spirit of resentment in the people, that the board of commissioners, (those of them who arrived last November from England) and their other officers, together with the collector and comptroller for this port, as also the officers of the Romney, thought it most prudent to repair on board the ship.

On Monday the people in town were in great agitation; but lest any tumult might arise at night, the consequences whereof would be very prejudicial, a notification was posted up in divers parts of the town, requesting the sons of liberty to meet at Liberty Hall on Tuesday the 14th, at ten o'clock in the forenoon; the expectation of this meeting kept

kept the town in peace : early on Tuesday morning the colours were flying on Liberty-Tree ; and, at the hour appointed, vast numbers of the inhabitants appeared at and near the hall ; but the weather being wet and uncomfortable in the street, they adjourned to Faneuil-Hall ; where it was proposed to have a legal meeting called ; accordingly a warrant was issued by the select men to the constables to warn a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town at three o'clock ; and several gentlemen were nominated to prepare a draft of some matters proper to lay before them. At three o'clock the inhabitants met, but so great was the concourse, that they were obliged to adjourn from Faneuil-Hall to the old South Meeting-house.

It has been reported that the sloop was seized, because no permit for lading was taken out at the Custom-house, before the oil was put on board ; others report, that it was for breach of the acts of trade in her last voyage, which was from Madeira ; but which of the reports is right, we are not able to inform the public.

The following advertisements appeared in the Boston Gazette.

Boston, June 20. We are authorized to inform the public, That Capt. CORNER, commander of his majesty's ship Romney, in case he should want any more men, will not take any belonging to, or married in the province, nor any employed in the trade along shore, or to the neighbouring colonies.

And we are further authorized to assure the public, That the man pressed from Mr. Waterman, is dismissed.

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, on Tuesday the 14th instant ; present a larger number than ever was known on any occasion. After very cool and deliberate debates upon the distressed circumstances of the town, and the present critical situation of their affairs, it was unanimously voted, That a committee should wait on the governor of the province, with the following petition, viz.

Province of the *Massachusetts Bay.*

To his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; governor and commander in chief, in and over said province, and vice-admiral of the same.

The inhabitants of the town of Boston, in town meeting, legally assembled,

Humbly shew,

That your petitioners consider the British constitution as the basis of their safety and happiness. By that, is established, no man shall be governed by laws, nor taxed but by himself, or representative, legally and fairly chosen, and to which he does not give his own consent. In open violation of these fundamental rights of Britons, laws and taxes are imposed on us, to which we not only have not given our consent, but against which we most firmly have remonstrated. Dutiful petitions have been preferred to our most gracious Sovereign, which (though to the great consternation of the people, we now learn have been cruelly and insidiously prevented reaching the royal presence) we have waited to receive a gracious answer to, with the greatest attention to the public peace, until we find ourselves invaded with an armed force, seizing, impressing, and imprisoning the persons of our fellow-subjects, contrary to express acts of parliament.

Menaces have been thrown out, fit only for barbarians, which already affect us in the most sensible manner, and threaten us with famine and desolation, as all navigation is obstructed, upon which alone our whole support depends ; and the town is at this crisis in a situation nearly such, as if war was formally declared against it.

To contend with our parent state, is in our idea the most shocking and dreadful extremity ; but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity

posterity retain of the enjoyment of our lives and properties, without one struggle, is so humiliating and base, that we cannot support the reflection. We apprehend, Sir, that it is at your option, in your power, and we would hope in your inclination, to prevent this distressed, and justly incensed people, from effecting too much, and from the shame and reproach of attempting too little.

As the board of customs have thought fit, of their own motion, to relinquish the exercise of their commission here, and as we cannot but hope, that, being convinced of the impropriety and injustice, of the appointment of a board, with such enormous powers, and the inevitable destruction which would ensue from the exercise of their office, will never reassume it. We flatter ourselves, your Excellency will, in tenderness to this people, use the best means in your power to remove the other grievance we so justly complain of, and issue your immediate order to the commander of his majesty's ship Romney, to remove from this harbour, till we shall be ascertained of the success of our applications.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, &c.

At the same time the town directed their committee to prepare a letter to Dennis. de Berdt, Esq; in London, setting forth the conduct of the commissioners and officers of the customs, and the officers of his majesty's ship Romney, relating to a seizure made the preceding Friday, as well as the behaviour of some of the inhabitants the evening following, in an impartial manner, supported by affidavits, to prevent the ill impressions that may be made by a misrepresentation; and then adjourned to the next day.

At the adjournment on Wednesday the 15th, the committee appointed to present the town's petition to the governor, reported from his Excellency the following answer, viz.

Gentlemen,

MY office and station make me a very incompetent judge of the rights you claim against acts of parliament; and therefore it would be to no purpose for me to express my opinion thereupon: All I can say is, that I shall not knowingly infringe any of your rights and privileges, but shall religiously maintain all those which are committed to me as a servant of the king.

In regard to the impressing men for the service of the king in his ships of war, it is practised in Great Britain, and all other his majesty's dominions, and therefore I cannot dispute it in this part of them. But I shall use my utmost endeavours to get it regulated so, as to avoid all the inconveniences to this town which you are apprehensive of; and, from the knowledge I have of Capt. Corner, I have no doubt of my succeeding therein.

I cannot pretend to enter into a dispute between you and your parent state; I desire to be a faithful servant in regard to both; and I shall think myself most highly honoured, if I can be in the lowest degree an instrument in preserving a perfect conciliation between them. I can assure you, that if it was as much in my power as it is in my will, it would always be preserved.

I am obliged by all kinds of duty, by my general instructions, and by his majesty's special orders, to protect, aid and assist the commissioners of the customs (appointed under the great seal of Great Britain, in pursuance of acts of parliament) and their officers in their persons and offices. And whether they shall or shall not relinquish the exercise of their commission, I must not fail to give them all the protection and assistance in my power. If in so doing I shall give offence, I shall be sorry for it. But I shall never regret the doing my duty.

I have no command over his majesty's ships, and therefore cannot issue such orders as you desire, nor indeed any order to the commander of his majesty's ship Romney. And it would be highly improper for me to make a requisition to him to remove from the harbour, when I know he is stationed here by a superior officer, and cannot remove hence but by his order.

FRANCIS BARNARD.

The

The committee at the same time reported the draft of a letter to Mr. de Berdt, which was read and unanimously accepted; and the committee were directed to forward the same, together with such affidavits as they should obtain, by the first vessel.

At this adjournment the town appointed another committee to prepare instructions for their representatives, at this alarming crisis; and further adjourned to Friday the 17th, at three o'clock.

On Friday the town met by adjournment, and received the report of their committee, and unanimously voted the following instructions to their representatives, viz.

To the Hon. James Otis, and Thomas Cushing, Esqrs; Mr. Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, Esq;

Gentlemen,

AFTER the repeal of the late American stamp-act, we were happy in the pleasing prospect of a restoration of that tranquillity and unanimity among ourselves, and that harmony and affection between our parent country and us, which had generally subsisted before that detestable act: But with the utmost grief and concern, we find that we flattered ourselves too soon, and that the root of bitterness is still alive.--- The principle on which that act was founded continues in full force, and a revenue is still demanded from America.

We have the mortification to observe one act of parliament after another, passed for the express purpose of raising a revenue from us; to see our money continually collecting from us, without our consent, by an authority in the constitution, of which we have no share, and over which we have no kind of influence or controul; to see the little circulating cash that remained among us for the support of our trade, from time to time transmitted to a distant country, never to return, or what, in our estimation, is worse, if possible, appropriated to the maintenance of swarms of officers and pensioners in idleness and luxury, whose example has a tendency to corrupt our morals, and whose arbitrary dispositions will trample on our rights.

Under all these misfortunes and afflictions, however, it is our fixed resolution to maintain our loyalty and duty to our most gracious sovereign, a reverence and due subordination to the British parliament, as the supreme legislative in all cases of necessity, for the preservation of the whole empire, and our cordial and sincere affection for our parent country; and to use our utmost endeavour for the preservation of the peace and order among ourselves, waiting with anxious expectation for a favourable answer to the petitions and solicitations of this continent, for relief; at the same time, it is our unalterable resolution, at all times, to assert and vindicate our dear and invaluable rights and liberties, at the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes; and we have a full and rational confidence that no designs formed against them will ever prosper.

That such designs have been formed, and are still in being, we have reason to apprehend. A multitude of placemen and pensioners, and an enormous train of underlings and dependants, all novel in this country, we have seen already. Their imperious tempers, their rash, inconsiderate and weak behaviour, are well known.

In this situation of affairs, several armed vessels, and among the rest his majesty's ship of war the *Romney*, have appeared in our harbour, and the last, as we believe, by the express application of the board of commissioners, with design to overawe and terrify the inhabitants of this town into base compliances, and unlimited submission, has been anchored within a cable's length of the wharfs.

But

But, passing by other irregularities, we are assured, that the last alarming act of that ship, viz. the violent, and, in our opinion, illegal seizure of a vessel lying at a wharf, and cutting off her masts, and removing her with an armed force in an hostile manner. under the protection of the king's ships, without any probable cause of seizure that we know of, or indeed any cause that has yet been made known : no libel or prosecution whatever having yet been instituted against her, was, by the express orders, or request in writing, of the board of commissioners to the commander of that ship.---In addition to all this, we are continually alarmed with rumours and reports of new revenue acts to be passed, new importations of officers and pensioners to suck the life-blood of the body politic while it is streaming from the veins ; fresh arrival of ships of war to be a still severer restraint upon our trade ; and the arrival of a military force to drag us into passive obedience ; orders and requisitions transmitted to New York, Halifax, and to England, for regiments and troops to preserve the public peace.

Under the distresses arising from this state of things, with the highest confidence in your integrity, abilities and fortitude, you will exert yourselves, gentlemen, on this occasion, that nothing be left undone that may conduce to our relief ; and in particular we recommend it to your consideration and discretion, in the first place, to endeavour that impresses of all kinds may, if possible, be prevented. There is an act of parliament in being, which has never been repealed, for the encouragement of the trade to America ; we mean by the 6 Ann. chap. 37. sect. 9. it is enacted, *That no mariner or other person who shall serve on board, or be retained to serve on board any privateer, or trading ship or vessel that shall be employed in any part of America ; nor any mariner, or other person, being on shore in any part thereof, shall be liable to be impressed, or taken away by any officer or officers, of or belonging to any of her majesty's ships of war, empowered by the lord high admiral, or any other person whatsoever, unless such mariner shall have before deserted from such ship of war belonging to her majesty, at any time after the 14th day of February, 1707, upon pain that any officer or officers so impressing or taking away, or causing to be impressed or taken away, any mariner or other person, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this act, shall forfeit to the master, or owner or owners of any such ship or vessel, Twenty Pounds for every man he or they shall so impress or take, to be recovered, with full costs of suit, in any part of her majesty's dominions.* So that any impresses of any mariner, from any vessel whatever, appears to be in direct violation of an act of parliament. In the next place, 'tis our desire that you enquire and use your endeavours to promote a parliamentary enquiry for the authors and propagators of such alarming rumours and reports as we have mentioned before, and whether the commissioners, or any other persons whatsoever, have really wrote or solicited for troops to be sent here from New York, Halifax, England, or elsewhere, and for what end ; and that you forward, if you think it expedient, in the house of representatives, resolutions, that every such person who shall solicit or promote the importation of troops at this time, is an enemy to this town and province, and a disturber of the peace and good order of both.

Then the Meeting was dissolved.

For the Narrative of some late extraordinary Proceedings at Tortuga, see page 87.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The inclosed is the Copy of a Country Gentleman's Letter to his Friend; if it suits the Plan of your Work, it is at your Service.

To Mr. J—— at BATH.

Dear Friend,

THE seeds of discontent, which disturbed the pleasures of Bath, are nothing when compared with those that have sprung up in the metropolis: your factions were indeed owing to the weakness of that person whom you stile the *king of Bath*, and these commotions are not less owing to the rashness of that person, whom the mob, very ignorantly stile, the *king of the city*. How a man can be fit to govern so popular a place, who cannot govern his own passions we may easily guess from the present reign of riot and confusion. To see a supreme magistrate issuing from his mansion-house amidst a crowd of boys, and seizing them with his own hands, is a sight not less ridiculous than improper. The dignity of his office is degraded to that of a petty Constable, and the L—— of London appears upon the level with a *common t-f-t-r*. I use the term of a *common t-f-t-r*, because neither Jonathan Wild of famous memory, nor the trading justices of more modern days ever descended so low. If you impute this fault, for certainly it is a fault, to a meanness of conception, and a want of that elegance of spirit, which is the essential part of true gentility, you may not be out in your guess. The complaisance which distinguishes the man of breeding from the clown, always forms an inseparable part of his character; how the present L—— can lay claim to this, may be determined from his behaviour to Mr. Wilkes during the late election. A behaviour composed of insolence to him, and of ingratitude to the livery. They had condescended to return his lordship together with Mr. Wilkes; but his lordship, instead of shewing his gratitude for the narrow escape he had from being rejected, endeavoured to set aside the nomination of the livery, and to prevent him from representing the city, whom the citizens had unanimously elected, by holding up of hands, for their representative. When a man is of a narrow mind, he is of a consistent character; pride, which is founded upon ignorance, is generally productive of malice, and you never

knew a malicious man, who was not likewise both narrow-minded and very ignorant. To this we may impute the behaviour, which his l——p shewed to a young lady, who was in the chamberlain's gallery at Guildhall during the election. The young lady was Miss Wilkes. His lordship descried her; and sent a message to the chamberlain, purporting, that the gallery was so much crowded, that he was afraid it would spoil the going of the clock. Sir Stephen, who understood the intention of the message, replied with a becoming warmth, that the gallery was his right, as being a part of his house; and that he would dispose of it as he thought proper. Though the gallery was too much crowded, because Miss Wilkes was in it, yet it was thought not crowded enough a day or two afterwards; for then application was made from the same wise person, for the admission of a foreign ambassador and his retinue.

To prevent a riot, is far better than to suppress one; it was in the power of this magistrate to have done the former; but power and prudence do not always meet together. He therefore chose the latter, because he was not wise enough to effectuate the former. I think the scripture somewhere tells us, *that it must needs be that offences come*, and the same scripture adds, *woe be to the man, by whom the offence cometh!* A generous, humane, candid and polite behaviour in the chief magistrate of a city, will render him more amiable and more awful than either the mace or the sword, or the attendance of the city marshal; but when he behaves with coldness and neglect, with insolence and ill-breeding to a man who has the estimation not only of the livery, but likewise of all the friends of liberty, what can he expect from the people but affronts? what can he expect from the livery but contempt? what can he expect from the lovers of freedom, but what he has extorted from them?

From hence then have proceeded the disturbances in this city; not from the insolence of the people, but the ignorance and insolence of their ruler. And it has generally been the case, that when an ignorant man is in office, the whole period of his command is characterised by confusion and disorder.

The *officiousness* of the magistrate, which has thrown the city into disorder, has proved no less destructive in the borough. The best, enforcement of authority is mildness; this makes the magistrate appear amiable in the eyes of the people; and, where love is, obedience will follow by invincible necessity. It is a pity but that the delegates of power would imitate him, from whom it flows, in this point. They would more easily effect their purposes; for though a Frenchman can bear to be bullied; an Englishman must always

always be persuaded. Threats will only irritate him; and he will always refuse to obey, when you endeavour to put disobedience out of his power. The m——s committed by the soldiery in St. George's fields upon innocent passengers in a common road, may serve to intimidate, but will never be able to enslave. For the discontent which carried so many people there, will not be removed by the explosion of musquets; but will still rankle in their bosoms, and increase, when they reflect on the martyrdom of their countrymen. The m——rs, Lord help them, seem convinced of this, by building barracks for the soldiery, in the king's-bench prison. But by this step they discover not only their fear, but likewise their ignorance. They would have John Wilkes appear as a traitor, but give him one of the insignia of majesty; the sight of so many guards, gives the prison an appearance of a palace, and the idea of the king's-bench vanishes away imperceptibly, and is superseded by that of another place far more respectable. It is to me a matter of surprize, that any guards should be sent there at all. They could not be designed to prevent a man's escaping from prison, who was obliged to make use of a stratagem to steal into it; nor could they be designed to prevent the mob from delivering him from his present confinement, because it is certain that he who made use of a subterfuge to get where he is, would never be at a loss for one to get into any other prison, whenever he pleased. To use the expression in Scapin, what business then had the guards there? as much you may say as my lord —— had to expose himself among the mob, at the head of his footmen. Had he staid at home, no riot would have been made? had the guards kept away, no murders would have been committed. His lordship indeed made a *booty* in his sally: and as it has been customary in military achievements to make some addition to the arms of the hero, in order to perpetuate the memory of his action, I would recommend it to *garter* king at arms to make this addition to the bearings of our city hero, or at least to assign him the *petticoat* and the *boot* for his crest, to him and his descendants for ever.

As therefore there is so strong a resemblance in the mental abilities of the city ruler, and Mr. Derrick, I hope that you will favour the pump room with both their pictures at full length, and by way of *eclaircissement*, add the following motto, at the bottom of the page,

PAR NOBILE.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

To —————.

MY LORD,

NO piece of wit can so easily be accepted, as when shot from the bow of one who is of the immediate occupation, or fraternity. Of this we have various instances in the professions of the church, the army, and the law.

A man of humour places a kind of legal prescription for thus darting his arrow more or less pointed, or poisoned : and, the better to elucidate my proposition, I will give an example of each in turn, by which my gentle (or ungentle) reader (no matter which) may better understand me.

In the church, 'tis more than reported, (for 'tis believed, even at Paris, elsewhere, and every where) that a certain archbishop there, often boasted how easily he would obtain (nay command) the cardinal's hat. This, every one knows, is the highest honour in that church, and gives each wearer of it the rank and reputation of a monarch.

His grace went to Rome, seemingly, on other affairs, but, really and truly, to exert his very utmost interest for this great honour ; but came back disappointed.

On his arrival, the chapter, of course, went to pay him the usual congratulations. He was sorry not to keep them to supper, having a bad cold. " I am not surprised at it, my lord," said a droll dog of a canon, " when you came all the way from Rome without an hat. *Ha! ha! ha!*"

As, being a brother clergyman, the joke was taken in good part, which a layman would have been bastinadoed for perhaps.

In the army, (that I may keep my word with each reader) a common soldier told his commander in chief, (who held his nose on passing the tent) That he could not be expected to be a civet-cat, when his d—n'd commissaries fed the army with stinking meat. The joke was of service ; for his excellency immediately looked into the affairs of bread, &c. and all went well afterwards. Thus, a soldier (being of the same trade) could say what a stranger could not.

My last instance being that of the law, in our own country, shall mention no names ; but a certain venerable judge (with a periwig-run to seed) thought he could overpower a young sucking counsellor with an home question or two. It
may

may doubly be said to be an home question, because it related to his affairs at home.

"I hear, young gentleman," says he, "your lady *lies in*." "She does, my lord, and is very well in her condition." Then, in a kind of sneering whisper, "But I hear your maid lies in too." "Well," replies the young barrister, "*and what is that to me?*" "Aye, but I hear you are the father of it." "And pray, *What is that to you?*"

Being of the same trade, his lordship (who perhaps could look back on his former Temple-life) was forced to swallow that from the gownsmen he would not have done from any other. 'Tis my vocation, Hal.

"And now, my lord, as we are *brother taylor*s, how could you be so unkind not to join *eight of us* to your right honourable self, when you were dubbed the other day a p——y c——r. Economy (that glory of our nation) should have prompted this, because the expence would have been split into nine equal parts; by which means your lordship would have escaped, as being only *the ninth part* of a man, I repeat, sir, would have escaped a penny in every *nine-pence*: and truly, my lord, near 90 *per cent*, is more profit than wine can bestow, or any commodity you may deal in.

I can conceive, now, some of your hungry *court-slaves* and lacqueys (such as gentlemen ushers, pages, footmen, and all that *chidden train*, as Shakespeare so happily terms it) calling on me for the *fees of honour*: on this I immediately call for the bill, and, seeing nine pounds, instantly lay down a *golden guinea*—demand one *silver shilling* change, (none of your Birminghams for me); and then giving him a list where my *other eight brethren* live, immediately with your lordship at the head, prove that nine taylor's make but one man.

Some disadvantages may, perhaps, attend, which common eyes may not so instantly foresee: one is (and a very material one) that, in case of any sudden business, (such as a massacre in *St. George's Fields*, or any such *disagreeable circumstance*, as a great man styles it) we must all be found, and enter, *tyed up* together, like Dutch quills, or a Battersea bundle of Asparagus.

To carry my raillery (if it appears so to your lordship, for I am truly serious) a little further, I can conceive a card of invitation hunting the squirrel after us; and because one of us (not so potent and puissant as is your lordship) may be at Sadler's-Wells, Messieurs Sampson and his *pair of horses*, or under the shade of a nine-pin alley near Moorfields (where the *New Great* could, once, have some little amusement; as your

your lordship can prove) that another Corsica may be surprised; a Boston ungratefully revolt; or a foreign army land in Kent; and all for want of one more in the cabinet, which only we *three times three* could make up.

Odd numbers are not only esteemed, but believed lucky—who knows then how lucky we might be when all met together? I fear, 'tis now too late to try; and, for your ingratitude or neglect of us, (no matter which) the whole kingdom will suffer, as you can, in a pinch of politics, only give the ninth part of an opinion.

To conclude, my lord, I will even follow you to your grave, not as a chief, or as a mourner, but to see how very much the sculptor may mistake in your epitaph, and even symbols of the tomb.

Would it not be *false heraldry* to put then an *entire pair of shears* or *scissars*? or an *whole yard* (when 'tis well known your lordship can command only *three inches*?). But as I'm in a hurry, going to take measure for a suit of mourning for the whole family of the *Allens*, must break off at once, and only mention what should be your epitaph, though I fear it will not! as the world is turned *upside-down*, according to the ingenious *halfpenny* print on that occasion, where the *pig* is roasting the *cock*, the *child* beating his *father*, and the *dull* scholar flogging the *head-master* of Westminster, or any other school-form, a *royal* one, to that where 'tis wrote over the door—

This academy to be *lett* or *fold*, with all its *Scholars, benches, desks, &c.*

E P I T A P H.

- “ Would you now make an epitaph,
- “ To make e'en pompous H——y laugh?
- “ Tell him! that, 'till he means to join
- “ His *noble* ashes, with us *nine*—
- “ *Posterity* will smile to see,
- “ (No less, perhaps, my lord, than *we*)
- “ How a *ninth* part of man could *die*,
- “ And all the rest alive as *I*—
- “ —To clear all mysteries, with *this*—
- “ Ask what he *was*—not, what he *is*.

From

From the BOSTON GAZETTE.

OUR advices from England are, that the late duties and multiplication of custom-house officers, &c. were the effects of the late C——s T——d's eloquence, and the machinations and misrepresentations of others :—That the eyes of the more sensible and disinterested are open, who now see that American affairs must be put upon a better footing.—That our late agreement to promote industry and manufactures, being the effect of necessity, was highly applauded, and, as they add, must work our deliverance in one shape or another, if duly adhered to by the colonies :—That the merchants and manufacturers were greatly alarmed and distressed by the decline of trade, and would soon exert themselves in our favour, and are highly disgusted, that a multitude of officers, whose business was before done by one or two surveyors general, should be sent here to suck out the very life and spirits of trade :—That the more knowing people at home are in great concern at the present aspect of national affairs, and mention things not so proper to be hinted in a newspaper :—That a new parliament was soon to be called, and the fate of Britain depended much upon a good or bad election :—That corruption and extravagance greatly prevailed, notwithstanding the most distressing scarcity :—That multitudes of manufacturers were ready to partake of our plenty, if they had but the means to transport themselves to the colonies :—That good men in the nation wished and prayed that America might still continue a land of liberty, civil and religious, that so it might be a proper asylum for our brethren in some future period, which they feared was not far distant.

Province of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

The following Resolves passed the honourable House of Representatives in their last Session.

In the House of Representatives, Feb. 26, 1768.

WHEREAS the happiness and well-being of civil communities depend upon industry, œconomy and good morals. And this house taking into serious consideration the
great

great decay of the trade of the province, the scarcity of money, the heavy debt contracted in the late war which still remains on the people, and the great difficulties to which they are by these means reduced :

Resolved, That this house will use their utmost endeavours, and enforce their endeavours by example, in suppressing extravagance, idleness, and vice, and promoting industry, œconomy, and good morals, in their respective towns.

And in order to prevent the unnecessary exportation of money, of which this province has of late been so much drained ; It is further resolved, that this house will, by all prudent means, endeavour to discountenance the use of foreign superfluities, and to encourage the manufactures of this province.

The following reasons were offered to the house by Brigadier Ruggles, for his dissent to the above resolves, viz.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay.

Mr. Speaker,

THE honourable house of representative of this province on the 26th instant, having resolved, that they will use their utmost endeavours, and enforce the same by example, in suppressing extravagance, idleness, and vice, and promoting industry, œconomy, and good morals, in their respective towns.

And in order to prevent the unnecessary exportation of money, of which this province has of late been so much drained : they further resolved, that they would, by all prudent means, endeavour to discountenance the use of foreign superfluities, and to encourage the manufactures of this province.

The passing said resolutions being determined by yea, and nay, the representative of the town of Hardwick being the only one who answered nay to the question put for passing said resolutions, begs leave to explain himself upon his dissenting answer, and says, that he had no objection to the resolution of endeavouring to suppress extravagance, idleness, and vice, and promoting industry, œconomy, and good morals, but was pleased with the appearance of such necessary reformation ; nor has he any objection to the encouraging manufactures, which do not interfere with those of the mother country, but on the contrary might be beneficial to both that and this country. But as it is supposed that the true interest of this province consists in the cultivation of a good harmony with their mother country, the improvement of the land, and the encouragement of a legal trade, it is humbly apprehended

it cannot be for the interest of this people to encourage manufactures in general, for the following reasons.

1st. Because in all countries manufactures are set up at the expence of husbandry, or other general employment of the people, and if they have not peculiar advantages over husbandry, they will, by discouraging the latter, do the country more harm than good.

2d. That in this country manufactures are so far from having peculiar advantages, that they lie under unsurmountable difficulties, of which thinness of people, and the consequence of it, high price of labour, are the chief: and therefore they can never balance the mischief they will do by taking hands off of husbandry and fishery.

3d. That at all times it behoves us to avoid setting up any business which may be detrimental to the mother country, as the preservation of a good understanding between Great Britain and her colonies is essential to the welfare of both.

4th. That at the time when we are petitioning for redress, to give particular encouragement to manufactories will look like a threat against, and a defiance of Great Britain, and will bring a resentment against the province, as, it is said, the like proceedings have already done against the town of Boston.

5th. That if by these, and other means, an actual breach should be made between Great Britain and her colonies in general, or this in particular, whoever gets the victory, we are undone. Wherefore he humbly begs leave to enter his dissent to the said resolutions, and to pray it may be entered in the journal.

Feb. 29th, 1768.

TIMOTHY RUGGLES.

In the House of Representatives, Feb. 29, 1768.

The honourable Timothy Ruggles, Esq; offered this paper to the house; and the question being put, whether the same shall be entered on the journals of the house. Passed in the negative.

Attest,

SAMUEL RUGGLES, Clerk.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, May 9.

Extract from a letter, dated Turk's Island, March 23, 1768, from the master of a vessel belonging to this port, to the owners.

THIS serves to acquaint you of my safe arrival here from Saltertuda, after staying there forty-one days for nothing. His majesty's ship the Scarborough, commanded by Captain Robert Gregory, arrived at Saltertuda the 3d instant, (March) and, on Monday the 7th, the brig Thomas was boarded by the cutter and pinnace, double manned and armed, which took 453 bags of salt out of the brig, and then went and took all the salt from every vessel at the place, that did not belong to his own fleet. He also took all the salt we had raked the second raking, which I believe was about 800 bushels.—To-morrow I shall make a protest, (the governor being not now at home) and send it from North Carolina. I propose to sail to-morrow evening, as here is no prospect of getting any salt for three weeks to come, and then uncertain, for one shower of rain would carry it all off.

Captain Elias Young, bound to Bermuda, sailed with me from Saltertuda, and was one, who with many others (of whom I shall send you a list, with some remarks) shared the same fate with me. I hope you and all the sufferers will be able to get well paid for your salt.

I am yours, &c.

Tortuga, March 9, 1768. At ten this morning arrived here, from Barbadoes, the Scarborough man of war, Robert Gregory, Esq; commander, with eight sail of vessels under his convoy. Capt. John Roberts was then ready to sail, waiting only for one boat load of salt,—but was stopped till further orders, and told by Captain Gregory, that he should be obliged to take all the salt, and divide it among the fleet under his convoy. Captain Gregory then sent his lieutenant on shore, to acquaint all the captains of the vessels, that all their salt should be taken from them, and divided among his fleet, and to order that none of us, or our people, should presume to go any more into the pond. On this we all desisted and came out.

About two o'clock captain Gregory, with one of the masters under his convoy, came on shore himself and repeated to us the same things.—We expostulated on the hardship of being thus deprived of the salt we had acquired by a long continuance of very hard labour and great expence. He told

told us he could not help it, and, after viewing the pond, went on board. Soon after, a signal being made, about a dozen of us went on board the Scarborough to know his orders. He told us his orders were to take all our salt, and keep our vessels as long as he thought fit. I told him I was short of provisions, and, if detained much longer, should do myself the pleasure to wait on him for a supply. He answered, he was short of provisions himself, and would not spare any. I told him, if he took away my salt, I should use my best endeavours to obtain payment for it, as also for the detention of the vessel. Mr. Knowles (his first lieutenant) asked me if I knew where I was, and if I was spokesman for the rest. I told him I knew I was on board his majesty's ship Scarborough, and that I spoke only for myself, my vessel and owner. —Captain Gregory said he should act up to the orders he had received from admiral Pye,—told us he did not want us all, but that we might settle the matters among ourselves, choose a committee, and let him know our determination. However, he forbid us from taking any of the salt we had raked, and sent some of his mariners to prevent it.

At five in the afternoon we all met, and chose for a committee five of our number, viz. the captains Thomas Griffiths, Elias Young, Joseph Kennicut, John Rocket, and Ephraim Dean. We also agreed to pay no convoy money, as we had been so long without one, had no prospect of getting a quantity of salt sufficient to defray the expence, and thought ourselves in no danger from the Spaniards.

Friday morning seven o'clock an officer from captain Gregory came on board the brig Thomas, took the names of the master, owner, and vessel, where built and from, her tonnage, quantity of salt on board, and where bound; also forbade my sailing without orders from captain Gregory. At nine o'clock our committee attended, and had some discourse with him,—told him our opinion, that we had an undoubted right to gather salt without a convoy, knew of no act of parliament or treaty by which it was restricted, but if any such be in being, desired that he would make known and explain them, and we should strictly conform to them. His answer was, that he should act up to his orders from Admiral Pye, &c. At ten o'clock several of us went up to the pond and found they had not yet taken away any of the salt we had left, but the man I had left to take care of it, and of our necessaries, was retired to the sea side, being obliged to bring all our things from the pond. Capt. Gregory having threatened if he did not, to fire into the tent, and carry him on board the Scarborough. March 5, Saturday morning, 7 o'clock, sent

for our wheel barrows and other necessaries, lest they might be taken or destroyed by Capt. Gregory, or some of his convoy. At nine o'clock, all the masters in the harbour had a meeting, and made a subscription of 530*l.* sterling, for the prosecution of a suit against Capt. Gregory, for his arbitrary proceedings, detention of the vessels, and the threatened seizure of our property. At ten o'clock our people returned with our things from the shore, and brought word that the people of the man of war, or his convoy, were unloading Capt. Roberts's sloop and carrying the salt on shore. Capt. Young, and some more masters, having walked up to the pond to see whether their salt was disturbed or not, as they returned, saw Capt. Gregory and several masters belonging to his fleet going to the pond, and soon after were overtaken, by two marines, with a message from Capt. Gregory, desiring that they would not come up again, for if they did, he should take particular notice of them. March 7, Monday morning six o'clock, the brig Thomas was boarded by the man of war's pinnace and yawl double manned and armed. The first lieutenant came on board and demanded the salt I had in the vessel. I desired to see his orders, which he immediately shewed me, from Capt. Gregory. The lieutenant then dispatched an officer in the yawl for the sloop Patty, Capt. Peter Boyd, belonging to Hertford, Connecticut, James Caldwell and Daniel Goodwin, of the said town, owners. Though there was a man of war's officer on board the sloop, the said master gave the orders to man the boat, which way to row her, and cunnied the men at helm, in bringing his sloop along side the brig to take my salt.—Nothing would give me more pleasure than making that scoundrel pay for the salt.—There are sufficient witnesses to prove that he not only did this in taking my salt, but did the like to several other vessels, particularly to one belonging to his own town, Thomas Goodwin, master, (who is going from hence to Montserrat, and I expect will get home in April or the beginning of May,) They took from me 453 bags of salt, 3 pecks each. The boats belonging to the convoy were all busy in taking the salt from my vessel, and other vessels in the harbour, and putting it on board the sloop Patty, and another sloop belonging to Rhode-Island, one White, master. March 8, Tuesday afternoon, two o'clock, a schooner of Piscataway, captain Riker, attempted to get away, but was brought back by the man of war's cutter. This day they finished taking all the salt from the vessels in the harbour. Captain Thomas Goodwin's sloop was carried to the fleet, and the salt, (the greatest part of which he had bought for 1*s.* 6*d.* per bushel) divided among them,

them, March 9, Wednesday afternoon, three o'clock, captains Griffiths, Young, Seymour, and myself, waited on captain Gregory, to acquaint him of our being ready for the sea. We were on board the Scarborough some time before we had the honour of seeing him; at last the lieutenant came and told us to go into the cabin. When we entered, he said to us, *what do you want?* I told him *a receipt for the salt his officer had taken away.* He said, *if he has taken it all, that's a sufficient receipt.* I then asked him *what he intended to do with the salt at the pond?* He said, *I have nothing further to do with you, you may sail whenever you think proper.* He said the same to the three other masters. March 10, Thursday, This day captain Sherman told me that captain Goodwin's salt, which had been taken from him and divided among the fleet, was last night brought back to him, and that this day he began to receive it. March 11, Friday morning, ten o'clock, weighed and stood to sea, in company with one brig, a schooner, and nine sloops, all of which had been plundered of their salt.

Salt taken away by captain Gregory, viz.

John Marshall, of New York, 453 bags, each three pecks; left at the pond about 750 bushels.

John Roberts of Carolina, about 150 bushels taken from on board.

Elias Young, James Seymour, John Wells, John Hodgson, John Robinson, Edward King, and G. Gibbs, of Bermuda, from on board their vessels and from the pond.

Capt. Sterry, James Alger, Capt. Sherman, Joseph Kenicut, (Capt. Freeborn made his escape) of Rhode-Island, from on board their vessels and from the pond.

Thomas Goodwin, of Hertford, Connecticut, from ditto.

Capt. Riker, Capt. Gregory, of Piscataway from ditto.

The following had their salt taken only from the pond.

Thomas Griffith's, James Lusher, Capt. Duncomb, and James Dill, of Bermuda. John Rocket, Louisbourg. Ephraim Dean, Halifax. Capt. M'Coy, South Carolina.

Boston, May 9. The town passed a vote, *nemine contradicente*, directing the selectmen to refuse the use of Faneuil-Hall to his excellency the governor and council, on the ensuing election day; unless they shall be assured that the commissioners of the customs will not be invited to dine there on that day.

An Address to the Freeholders of the Kingdom of Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,

IF you chuse to be slaves, 'tis in vain to talk to you ; and you will remain, what you ought to remain, the dependants of swoln up bashaws, and petty tyrants.—Habit, perhaps, may have reconciled your minds to this thralldom—if that be the case, you are not fit members of a free community—Turkey or Morocco should be your abode—to suppose any of you incapable of relishing the happiness of living under the best of constitutions, and the mildest and most just of princes, I will not.—However, let me tell you, that if you suffer the same grievances to continue, which you have so long endured under this basest of all vassalage, you ought to impute them to your own abject hearts—for if you have the souls of men, you will spurn oppression from your dwellings, your children and families,—you will not submit to the scourge, when relief is in your own power—by electing proper representatives from men of integrity, candor, and moderation—the peace-makers—and the lovers of justice.

Let me then ask you, how it could happen that any one amongst you should precipitately engage his voice to your old cruel task-masters ? You will answer, you did it incautiously—you were surprized into it—you had been so long oppressed, that the spirit of freedom was not awakened—that your hearts are with the cause of independency, which you sincerely wish success to, not only in the next, but all future elections ;—but that you do not know how to break your promises.

Dishonest timidity ! as if a promise to a highwayman, or an engagement to commit a murder, were by any law of God or man to be adhered to ! Your promise was illicit in its first formation, teeming with the most fatal mischiefs—big with ruin to your country, and every individual in the state—you cannot want to be told, that the primary duty of a man (especially of a freeman) is to promote the welfare of the society to which he belongs ; and therefore every promise that tends to overthrow and extinguish the spirit of liberty, which forms the prosperity of a nation, is an absolute nullity—and the gravest casuist (even the most learned gentleman in lawn sleeves) can never force my assent to believe the contrary—are we to commission them, who have so long perverted the justice of the whole nation, and, under the forms of law, committed the worst of depredations, to continue the same course for eight years longer ? to arm them with legislative authority to compleat our destruction, and thereby to defeat
all

all the salutary purposes of his majesty's infinite goodness to us? and all this for no other reason, but because you have artfully been drawn into promises, adverse to every principle of publick and private duty—for shame! for shame! what was Jephtha's vow? A vow to the Almighty himself, to commit an unlawful act; he kept it, and hath been condemned by all good men ever since.

And now let me ask you, whether you can expect, that the dignity of the senate (upon which half its weight depends) can a moment subsist, unless the chair of the house of representatives be filled with a man of sense, candor, moderation, and rectitude? a man firm in his conduct, and upright in the service of the house, who is clear of all faction, and impartially steady in preserving the orders of debate, and the rules of parliamentary deliberation?

Character, or the opinion of the people, is essential to the consequence of all great assemblies—hence we see the feeble parliaments of France have often, from this single circumstance arising from the opinion of the nation with regard to their inflexible virtue, been able to stand against the craft of tyrannical ministers at the head of not less than 300,000 men; nor could the whole power of the throne shake the intrepidity of their resolutions.—Hence we may conclude, that power, unattended with character, carries no permanent strength along with it, for pride, insolence, vice, and cruelty, must excite detestation and lurking resentments in the breasts of even the most accustomed slaves.

Lastly, before I conclude, I will take the liberty of laying a few humble sentiments at the feet of the hierarchy of this nation; which, I apprehend, may at the same time be found not unworthy the most serious thoughts of every freeholder and freeman throughout the kingdom.

That our clergy have long lain under the reproach of being the flatterers of power, and the servile props of corrupt office, and insolent station, is a truth too notorious to be denied.—Would to Heaven such obloquy could be proved to be void of all foundation.—But be that as it may, it is high time to rescue the fathers of our religion from all manner of indignity, that they may, by the grace of God, for ever remain a guide to all the people committed to their care, and enjoy that influence to the end of the world, which ought to accompany their holy characters.

But alas! this is only to be acquired by their zeal and attention to their pastoral duties—by their affection to the constitution, (in which most certainly is comprehended the love of liberty;) in a word, they should preach peace, good will, and

and justice to the people, and by their examples add vigour to their precepts—for should it even be suggested that the right reverends of Ireland, from their connections in this kingdom, are more prone to make themselves parties in our factions, and to exert an unconstitutional influence in our elections, than their brethren, right reverends, who are sent to us from England—I tremble to think of the consequences, as it may give a mortal wound to the future expectations of our own native clergy.

Therefore, from every consideration, civil as well as religious, the inferior clergy should be left to their own judgments, and not be coerced by their prelacy, to give their suffrages against their conscience.

And, indeed, I cannot help remarking, that the country clergy are much more competent judges of the merit of persons fit to represent us, than even the lords of the right reverend bench, who by seldom visiting their dioceses, know but little of the lives and conversations of country gentlemen. Were this indulgence given by the diocesan to his clergy, then, indeed, they would be truly exalted, and looked upon, not as the slaves of their bishops, but the friends of religion, and of their country.—It seems therefore to be a matter of the most important concern, whether the present tyrannical mode of disposing of the votes of the clergy, may not futurely administer a very strong argument against the promotion of our own native clergy to any great spiritual dignities.

A True Independent of the established Church of Ireland.

P O S T S C R I P T.

One word more, and I have done; and therefore I shall only observe how hardly our minor clergy are treated;—for what from the calls of nature to provide for his own children, nephews and cousins, and the duty of gratitude (the divinest of all virtues) to his own great patron, who is for some time to be complimented with all the best livings in the diocese, the bishop (however well disposed) hath nothing to give the poor drudging labourer in the vineyard.—Whereas, if the parson was left free to oblige some honest country gentleman, who is possessed perhaps of several good advowsons, he might have a tolerable chance to live by his calling; but at present all chances are taken from him, and he and his wretched family left to starve.

Sat Verbum Sapienti.

*To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.**Remarks on the Case of the Duke of Portland.*

S I R,

AFTER perusing with equal care and impartiality, every thing that has been written *pro* and *con*, relating to the case of the duke of Portland, I must freely give it as my opinion, that it is one of the blackest and most villainous affairs that I remember to have met with in the English annals; one of the writers on this subject has proved it beyond the possibility of a doubt, that till the first year of queen Anne, the crown was possessed of an indisputable right of granting away its private property for ever; and that therefore, king William the third, might legally and constitutionally grant the forest of Inglewood to the first earl of Portland and his heirs for ever.

This maxim, indeed, has been attempted to be refuted by some hireling scribber for the ministry; who asserts, that the crown was never possessed of such a right: but if the principles he advances, were once generally received, it would follow, that no subject in the kingdom has any property in land at all; but that the king is the sovereign lord and proprietor of every foot of land in England. William the conqueror, it is well known, was once such a proprietor; at least he granted away the lands as if he had been such a Proprietor. But, if neither he nor any such successors had a right to make such grants, then all their grants are void and ineffectual, and the king is still the sole proprietor of land in the kingdom. Will the ministry, or any of their hirelings, pretend to tell me, that no grant of the king is valid, unless confirmed by act of parliament; and that all grants of land, which former kings have made, and have not been so confirmed, are void and ineffectual? Perhaps they may; for their ignorance great as it is, is still exceeded by their impudence. I shall then be glad to know, whether the grant of the hereditary Ranger-ship, of Whittlebury-forest, which Charles the Second made to his bastard son, the first duke of Grafton, was confirmed by parliament? If it was, let the present duke continue in possession of it: but if it was not, let it be resumed from him; and it may certainly be resumed, as well as the forest of Inglewood has been resumed from the duke of Portland.

Aye! but I shall be told, the cases are very different. The hereditary Ranger-ship of Whittlebury-forest, was granted by a king of the true line, a king possessed of divine, indefeasible, hereditary right; and who therefore, might have granted away the whole crown lands, without being questioned: whereas the forest of Inglewood was granted by a king, who was not only not possessed of this divine, indefeasible,

feasible, hereditary right, but had even no right to the—— at all, and consequently none to the—— lands, and therefore could not grant away that, to which he had no legal title. And are these the maxims that are really embraced by our present ministers, or rather by our present minister ; for we now have, and for a long time have had, but one minister ? If they are, I pray to God, that they may soon break out into action ? and that these actions may bring him to the fate, which the many other crimes he has committed against the liberties of his country, have long since merited !

*Lettre de M. de VOLTAIRE à M. le Chevalier VANSOMMER,
à Londres.*

Monsieur,

VOUS savez sans doute que la paix est faite à Geneve : elle est toujours le résultat de la guerre. Après avoir bien chamaillé de part et d'autre, on revient toujours à des conditions pacifiques, en attendant quelque nouvelle rupture. L'homme est un petit souverain qui aime la paix pour son propre repos, mais il incline fortement à la guerre pour troubler le repos des autres.

L'Europe a du admirer la prudence des combatans Genevois et leur amour pour l'humanité durant les troubles de la guerre : pas une goutte de sang n'a été répandue. Il n'en est pas ainsi de Neufchatel : la scène y a été ensanglantée ; l'avocat général Gaudot est tombé sous le glaive des assassins : son corps percé de coups a eu à peine la sépulture ; mais la paix n'est pas rétablie par la mort de cet infortuné magistrat. Un corps de troupes qu'ont fourni les cantons de Lucerne, de Fribourg, et de Soleure garde la ville : le général Lentulus est campé à Anet : le chevalier de Planta, major au service du roi de Prusse, est parti pour se rendre auprès de ce monarque, et je ne doute pas que ce prince ne ressente vivement l'outrage qu'on lui a faite dans la personne de l'avocat général. Le repos ne fera peut-être pas rétabli à Neufchatel qu'en étranglant deux ou trois des plus coupables assassins : que ne peut-on le rétablir à moins de frais ! Le tendre citoyen gémit de la nécessité de sévir contre des meurtriers. Mais tel est, par malheur, le sort de l'humanité, un mal ne peut souvent se guérir que par deux maux, et ceux-ci par beaucoup d'autres. L'homme est porté à la vengeance, et le persécuteur devient souvent persécuté. La moitié du genre humain est sans cesse en guerre contre l'autre : elle ne connaît point de trêve. Pour concilier les hommes, il faudrait, pour article préliminaire, que chacun renonçât à ses intérêts particuliers : chose impossible. L'homme cesserait d'être homme, et deviendrait je ne sais quelle chimère qui n'a aucune réalité.

Le vieux Clément fait la guerre au jeune Ferdinand. Rome et Parme ne peuvent s'accorder, et le pape se fert de ses

Lettre de M. de Voltaire, &c.

ses armes usées contre un prince qui a bayonnetes et mousquets. La France, l'Espagne, et le Portugal joignent leurs armes à celles du dernier et prouvent, par un argument *ad hominem*, que Clément radote, et qu'il doit se soumettre en revoquant un bref qui fait la honte du Vatican, mais que le souverain pontife regarde comme un soulagement à sa conscience, et prétend par son opiniâtreté joindre la couronne du martire à la tiare pontificale, comme si Dieu aimoit assez les Jésuites pour accorder la palme à leur grand amiral.

Si des champs Romains nous jettons les yeux sur le Nord, nous verrons la Pologne en proie aux dissensions domestiques, sous le nom de confédéré, détruisant le patriote, une partie de la nation soulevée contre l'autre, le patriote, et cela pour la gloire de Dieu et l'honneur de la religion, comme si cette sainte religion n'avoit pas aboli les sacrificateurs et les victimes. Mais ce qui doit intéresser également les droits de l'humanité c'est qu'une puissance étrangère entre à mains armées, et force une nation libre, gouvernée par ses lois, à recevoir celles qu'elle lui impose bayonnette au bout du fusil. Que diroient les Anglais, si le roi de France, à la tête de cent mille hommes venait imposer des lois à l'Angleterre? Serait-il bien reçu par cette nation si jalouse de ses droits et de ses privilèges? Ne lui dirait-on pas, en lui jetant quelques barrils de poudre au travers de la physionomie, Sire, de quoi vous mêles-vous? Avez-vous quelque chose à ordonner ici? Retournez dans votre royaume, vous n'êtes point législateur dans le nôtre. Soyez despote chez vous, et laissez nous jouir de notre liberté; mais les Polonais sont faibles, et Catherine a de *fortes raisons* à leur opposer, témoin l'évêque de Cracow qui fut enfermé à Schlussembourg dans la même chambre où le Czar Pierre III. finit sa carrière.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, Votre très-humble Serviteur,
VOLTAIRE.

*A Letter from Mr. VOLTAIRE to the Chevalier VANSOMMER,
at LONDON.*

S I R,
YOU know, without doubt, that peace is made at Geneva. It is always the result of war. After tilting at one another for some time, men always return to conditions of peace, in expectation of some new rupture. Man is a little sovereign; he loves peace on account of his own tranquillity, but he has a strong propensity to war to disturb the tranquillity of others.

Europe ought to admire the prudence of the Genevese competitors, and their regard for humanity during the confusions of war: not one drop of blood has been shed by them. We cannot say the same of Neufchatel: a bloody scene has been there. Gaudot, the attorney general, has fallen by the

sword of assassins. His corpse, pierced with wounds, could scarce obtain a burial. But peace is not re-established by the death of that unfortunate magistrate. The cantons of Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure, have furnished a body of men, which guards the town: general Lentulus is encamped at Anet: the chevalier de Planta, a major in the service of the king of Prussia, is gone to that monarch; and, I doubt not but that prince will strongly resent the outrage, which has been done to him in the person of the attorney general. The repose of Neufchatel will not be re-established without strangling two or three of the ringleaders. The humane citizen groans at being under a necessity to serve against the murderers. But, by mischance, such is the condition of humanity, that one evil can seldom be remedied but by two others, and those again by a great many more. Mankind is propense to revenge, and oftentimes the persecutor himself is persecuted in his turn. One half of the world is incessantly at war with the other: there is no such thing as a truce between them. To conciliate their affections, it must be laid down as a preliminary article; "That every one should renounce his particular interest;" but this is an impossibility; For then mankind would cease to be men, and become a chimera, which has no reality.

Old Clement is at war with young Ferdinand. Rome and Naples cannot agree, and the pope makes use of his worn out arms against a prince who has bayonets and muskets. France, Spain, and Portugal join their arms with the latter, and prove by an argument *ad hominem*, that Clement dotes, and that he ought to submit, so as to recal his bull, which is the shame of the vatican. But the sovereign pontiff regards it as a point of conscience, and intends, by his obstinacy, to join the crown of martyrdom to the tiara of the pontiff; as if God loved the jesuits well enough to grant the palm to their grand admiral!

If, from the fields of Rome, we turn our eyes toward the north, we shall see Poland a prey to domestic dissensions. One part of the nation in arms against the other: The patriot, under the title of confederate, destroying the patriot; and all this for the glory of God, and the honour of religion: as if that holy religion had not abolished both sacrificers and victims. But what ought equally to engage the rights of humanity, is, that a foreign power enters in arms, and forces a nation, which is free, and governed by its own laws, to receive those which it imposes with bayonets fixed. What would the English say, if the king of France should come at the head of a hundred thousand men to impose laws upon England? Would he meet with a favourable reception from that nation, so jealous of its rights and liberties? Would they not say to him, after throwing a few

few barrels of powder in his face, "sir, why do you meddle with us? have you any thing to do here! get back again into your own kingdom; you are no legislator in ours. Show your despotism at home, and leave us to enjoy our liberties." But the Poles are weak, and Catherine has *strong reasons* to produce on her side; witness the bishop of Cracow, who was confined at Schlussembourg in the same apartment, as the czar Peter III. finished his career in.

VOLTAIRE.

Instructions to Representatives to serve in Parliament, elected in the Year 1768.

Ad Pœnam pulchra pro Libertate vocabit—
Vendidit Hic auro Patriam.—

VIRG.

WE, a considerable part of your electors, as yet your free and independent electors, do most earnestly recommend to you, our representatives in parliament, to enquire, and we do also desire and expect that you will.

I. Enquire by whose advice it was, that a separate peace was concluded with France and Spain in 1762, by which a flagrant breach of national faith was committed, being in direct opposition to all treaties subsisting between our gallant ally the king of Prussia, and his late majesty of glorious memory, renewed and confirmed by his present majesty, after his accession, in a treaty bearing date December 12, 1760, of the fourth article; of which the following is a translation.

"The *high contracting powers* moreover engage, viz. on the one side his *Britannic majesty*, as well king as *elector*, and on the other part his *Prussian majesty*, not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or other convention or agreement whatever with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement and by comprehending each other by name."

Signed, *Robert Henley, C. S.*
Granville, P.
Holles, Newcastle.
Holderness.
Hardwicke.
William Pitt.

A treaty of peace, was notwithstanding, entered into and concluded at Paris, between England, France and Spain, without the consent and mutual agreement of the king of Prussia*, and without comprehending him by name in defiance

* "The French knew the negotiation of the peace was in the hands of lord B * * *, and that so far from supporting our

fiance of the above article of a most solemn treaty and engagement between his present majesty and the king of Prussia, and within less than two years from the date thereof; by which the honor and *public faith* of the nation became a sacrifice to evil counsellors and corrupt ministers: and we do, therefore, request of you, our representatives, and do, hereby, call upon you to use your utmost endeavours to trace out, detect, and bring to condign punishment all such evil counsellors, and corrupt ministers, by whose advice the *national faith* has been thus ignominiously prostituted, and traitorously broke and forfeited.

II. We desire and expect that you will enquire by whose advice it was, that after a *glorious war*, and a series of amazing conquests, carried on with uninterrupted success in every part of the globe, and beyond the example of former ages, the most valuable of those conquests, particularly, the *rich and important city* and dependencies of the *Havanna*, and the fertile islands of *Guadelupe* and *Martinico* were ceded to the enemy; and this at a time when our ambassador, it is said, was in actual treaty for one of them, and the cession but little litigated on the part of the ministers of France, when he received positive orders to sign the preliminary articles of the peace; and we also recommend and expect you will enquire by whose advice it was, that the *Manilla* ransom money still detained and withheld; in open breath of public honor, and public faith on the part of the crown of Spain, and in defiance of the sacred articles of capitulation, was not insisted on; but that just and *national* claim tamely and submissively given up, to the great discredit of this kingdom.

III. We desire and expect that you will enquire, by what authority it was, that a representative of the people in parliament was seized in his own house, dragged out of his own house, and in defiance of the habeas corpus act, and magna charta, imprisoned in the tower of London; and although for a bailable offence, no person suffered to come near him for three days in order to bail him: all his papers, the most secret of them, rifled and carried away, under an avowed design of collecting evidence against him for a supposed libel; thereby obliging a freeborn Englishman to turn his own
accuser.

our great protestant ally, his lordship was determined to abandon him. The king of Prussia complained, that he was actually *betrayed* by the Scottish minister, and he spoke publicly of the offers made by his lordship to the late czar, for dismembering his dominions.

“I heard lord B * * * declare in a great assembly, that the dominions of the king of Prussia were to be *scrambled for*; the most indecent, vulgar, and infamous expression for an ally of the crown of England, which any minister ever uttered.”

accuser, contrary to the known laws of the land. We also desire, and expect, that you will use your utmost endeavours to find out by whom it was that a writ of habeas corpus, granted by a chief justice, was eluded, and its authority disobeyed, in time of public peace and tranquillity; and the act of habeas corpus, that greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, broke down and trampled under foot; the powers of which were never known to be even suspended, but in times of public danger, of suspected conspiracies, open rebellion, or when a foreign enemy was in arms in the kingdom; the suspension of the habeas corpus act, though by authority of parliament, is ever understood to be a suspension of the liberty of the subject. And we, therefore, desire and expect that you will enquire by whose advice it was, that private persons in office, armed with that iron engine of oppression, and bearing that ignominious badge of slavery a general warrant, were employed or set on and encouraged to dare to do that by themselves, which king, lords, and commons, the three estates of the realm, can only do together.

IV. We desire and recommend to you most earnestly, to use your utmost endeavours to promote a remedial bill in parliament for quieting the possession of the subject, and to prevent ministers under the crown from harrassing the private subject with antiquated claims, vexatious suits, and threats of confiscation, giving thereby a shock to the whole landed property throughout the kingdom, and other detestable proceedings inconsistent with the freedom of the British constitution, and the rights and privileges of the people: and that you will do your utmost to rescue private property from the violence, arbitrary encroachments, breach of faith, injustice, and tyranny of profligate and corrupt ministers.

V. We request also, and recommend you to enquire, how it comes to pass that the eldest sons of peers of Scotland, who are declared incapable to represent any borough or shire in that kingdom, should be permitted to represent any borough or shire in England: and why, when * all the commons of Scotland are, according to the act of union, represented by forty-five members in the British parliament, Scots commoners are permitted to represent

* Article 22 of the act of union. "A writ shall be immediately issued, &c. For the summoning the sixteen peers, and for electing forty five members, by whom Scotland is to be represented in the parliament of Great-Britain."

English boroughs, and to have additional voices in parliament: and whether the permitting Scots commoners and eldest sons of peers of Scotland to sit in parliament for English boroughs, be not inconsistent with, and contradictory to, the true spirit of the act of union: and whether a single instance can be produced since that act took place, where any one English commoner was ever returned to parliament to represent a shire or borough in Scotland: we recommend to you in your enquiries to consider the true spirit of the act of union: the lord's house took care to prevent any northern irruptions upon the English nobility; the dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry are not at this time allowed to sit in their house, though actually created English dukes by the titles of Brandon and Dover. The wisdom of the lords gave this construction to the act of union: they restrained and confined the North-British representatives in their house to the number fixed by the act of union, the number sixteen. Is it not then extraordinary that the house of commons should open a door which the other has shut? or can it be supposed, with any degree of reason or propriety, that the framers of the act of union could ever mean to bar access to natives of Scotland from becoming members of one part of the legislature beyond their limited number, and give them free admittance into the other? It never was, it never could be their intent; and if Scots commoners have not hitherto been expressly restrained from intruding upon the legislature of South-Britain beyond their stipulated number by the act of union, it is time they should be so, or, in the process of a few years, a swarm may be brought in upon us that may be too strong for English representatives to turn out. Remember the speech of one of your predecessors, and imprint it in your hearts: "Mr. Speaker, I hear a lion roaring in the lobby; shall we shut the door, sir, against him, or shall we let him in, to see if we are able to turn him out again?" If the present Scotch commoners, already elected, are permitted to enjoy their seats in the ensuing parliament, the number will increase upon you in another; and in time, all the subjects of England will be taxed by a majority of Scotch members: flagrant absurdity! intolerable yoke! In this case, which is far from being impossible, and which event perhaps is nearer taking place than the generality of people may imagine, it is not a portion of members of the Scotch parliament sent by deputation to the British house of commons; who sit there, but it is the Scotch parliament adjourned to England. For which important reasons, we most earnestly recommend to you to propose an enquiry into the true spirit of the act of union; and as far as in you lies, by all constitutional

stitutional endeavours, to exclude Scotch commoners already elected, exceeding the number of forty-five, and not representing shires or boroughs in Scotland, from a seat or voice in the British parliament; and to promote a resolution of the house of commons, whereby they may be declared incapable to sit in that house; and that the speaker may be ordered to issue out his warrants to the clerk of the crown to make out new writs for the electing representatives in their room, according to former precedents†.

VI. We desire and expect, that you will use your utmost endeavours, by all constitutional measures in your power, that a law may pass for restoring triennial parliaments: triennial parliaments were established soon after ‡ the glorious revolution took place, which saved this kingdom from impending, from inevitable destruction: they were established as the best security for the constitution against the arbitrary attempts of all wicked and designing ministers *in futuro*; frequent elections deprive them of that enormous influence and power they now have to corrupt the representatives of the people, and to secure a venal majority of members in the house of commons, which might prevent, or put a stop to all enquiries into their public conduct. These constitutional triennial parliaments were first unconstitutionally laid aside in the year 1716, on a state necessity, and when the public was thought to be in immediate danger; a Scotch rebellion barely quashed, and in the infancy of a new succession to the throne: unconstitutionally laid aside, because the people had no choice of their representatives; and surely nothing could be more extravagantly absurd, than that the representatives of the people should choose themselves, vote themselves into their own seats, and sit like peers in their own right, at the same time deriving their authority from the people: a manifest contradiction in terms! No man constitutionally can continue himself in deputation for a longer term of years than he is deputed for: and the house of peers and the house of commons which continued that

† “ December 6, 1708. The commons ordered their speaker to issue out his warrants to the clerk of the crown to make out new writs for the electing commissioners for the shire of Aberdeen, in the room of William lord Haddo; and for the shire of Linlithgow, in the room of James lord Johnstoun, who being eldest sons of peers of Scotland, were declared to be incapable to sit in that house. How much greater the impropriety for such commoners, or any Scots-commoner whatever, to sit in the house for English shires or boroughs!”

‡ December 22, 1694.
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triennial parliament of 1716 for seven years, might by the same authority have continued it for a term still longer, might have made it perpetual; and this would have been an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. The house of commons that did it was no house of commons of England, after the expiration of the three years for which they were elected: at that time they became a house merely of common, or rather uncommon men, and, strictly speaking, were no longer a house of parliament, or composed the third estate of the kingdom.

The usurpation of these septennial parliaments (for so, perhaps, it might be called) has been continued ever since, though the same reasons, (state necessities) which then prevailed, are no more in being, and subsist no longer; but the same reasons for establishing short and triennial parliaments remain still, and are equally in force now as at the revolution. Septennial parliaments have a long time been complained of as a heavy national grievance, and can be agreeable to none but ill-designing ministers, and self-interested representatives of the people; the sooner therefore they are abolished, and *triennial* parliaments restored, the sooner may we expect the halcyon return of public virtue to bless these kingdoms; the sooner may we expect to bruise the head of corruption, and to keep down all aspiring, arbitrary, over-bearing favourites, ever as dangerous as obnoxious to the community. Ministers and favourites have the means of corruption now in their hands, but these would be greatly diminished, "if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for as a good ministry will neither practice or need corruption, so it cannot be any man's intent to provide for the security of a bad one*."

For these reasons, and many others which could be added, being thoroughly convinced of the utility arising to the nation from short parliaments, and the great danger arising to the constitution from long ones; and as being also a means to curb the growth, and prevent the spreading of corruption, and

* Lord's protest in 1716.

"It is the fate of weak princes," says lord Lyttelton, "to think that they are never so well served as by those of whose authority the people complain the most; and to make the public hatred a ground of their confidence; as if such persons, having no other strength or protection to depend upon, must belong more to them, and be more devotedly attached to their interest."

to repair the breaches made in the constitution by the innovation of a septennial parliament, and to remedy the disappointment so severely felt by the nation in 1722, when triennial parliaments were not, according to the universal expectation of the people, restored to them, and the constitutional rights and liberties of the commons of England thereby more firmly secured and established, on the basis * built for them by their great and glorious deliverer King William, to whom we owe religion, law, and liberty: For these reasons we do most earnestly recommend to you, our representatives, and especially if you profess revolution principles, to use all constitutional means in your power, that a law may be passed, in the approaching session, for limiting the duration of this present and all future parliaments to three years at most.

VIII. We do also recommend to you, to promote an enquiry, by which the constitution itself may be examined into according to its first principles, in order to correct such abuses

* In the bill of rights, passed February 13, 1688-9, is the following article, or clause: Art. 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

A parliament of a long continuance seemed to be very dangerous, either to the crown, or to the nation: If the conjuncture and their proceedings gave them much credit, they might grow very uneasy to the crown, as happened in King Charles the first's time; or in another situation of affairs, they might be so practised upon by the court, that they might give all the money, and all the liberties of England up, when they were to have a large share of the money, and were to be made the instruments of tyranny; as it was in King Charles the second's time. It was likewise hoped, that frequent parliaments would put an end to the great expence candidates put themselves to in elections: And that it would oblige the members to behave themselves so well, both with respect to the public, and their private deportment, as to recommend them to their electors at three years end: Whereas, when a parliament was to sit many years, members covered with privileges, were apt to take great liberties, forgot that they represented others, and took care only of themselves. So that it was thought that England would have a truer representative, when it was chosen anew every third year, than when it run on.

Bishop Burnet's hist. Vol. II.

as may have crept in through length of time, and to supply such defects as may be wanting, and to restore it as nearly as it can be done to its original principles : And also, that the representative authority of this kingdom may be more equally settled.

IX. We recommend to you, and strictly charge you, carefully and impartially to enquire into the conduct of all such returning officers, of whose proceedings complaint shall at any time be made before the house ; and to do justice to the nation by bringing all such to condign punishment, who shall appear to have violated the right of freeholders and legal voters at elections ; thereby invading the birth-right and privilege of the British subject, and flagrantly insulting the constitution and liberty of their country §.

We also recommend to you, to promote a bill for laying a duty of ten shillings per hundred weight on sugar, which, according to the best calculation made by a late great chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Legge, universally acknowledged to be the most able financier in Europe, will raise 500,000 l. per annum ; and to repeal thereby the additional tax upon beer substituted in its room in the year 1754, and which has ever since been levied with such peculiar cruelty and oppression upon the laborious poor of this great kingdom ; the poor, already distressed and almost famished by the high and extravagant prices of provisions and corn ; the reduction of which high and extravagant prices we also most earnestly recommend to your consideration in parliament ; and that you will use your utmost endeavours to give relief to the crying and very alarming necessities of the indigent and industrious part of the nation, your fellow-subjects, and many of them your constituents and electors.

§ In the house of commons of Ireland, in the sessions of 1756, the present earl of Arran (then Sir Arthur Gore) upon a petition before the house, complaining of undue proceedings, and a false return for the county of Wexford, made use of this remarkable expression in a debate, " that the kingdom of Ireland had been scourged by sheriffs : " and moved the house, that the high sheriff of Wexford, having acted in an arbitrary, illegal manner, be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms attending the house, and be committed to Newgate ; which was agreed to by the house without a division.

The POLITICAL BAROMETER.

Sentences on Mr. Wilkes, with prefatory Remarks,

I Have now on my table office-copies of the two sentences against Mr. Wilkes; but before I transcribe them for your paper, I beg to be indulged a word about the two crimes.

The first, that he re-published the North-Briton, No. 45, I will take no pains about. I shall only say, that he was a fool, or a real patriot; if he did risk the re-publication of such truths as he will never be forgiven the very suspicion of having divulged or propagated, and that I will not believe there is any harm in that paper, because I have seen No. 45 on almost every coach, chaise, wall, window, hat, &c. in this kingdom, and even on the snowy bosoms of the prettiest women in the world. No 45. has indeed, Sir, had wonderful luck; but, in my opinion, an elder brother of his, No. 5, deserved still more to have been taken notice of, and perhaps actually laid the foundation of the younger brother's fortune. The first half hour's leisure you have, will convince you of this.

The second crime, of publishing the Essay on Woman, was never committed at all by Mr. Wilkes, although it has in part by several others. I shall not dwell on this subject, because it shews our country in so infamous a light. Every good man must look with horror on an administration offering a place of one hundred pounds per annum to a servant to rob his master of the remainder of that copy. By money they had got a small part before in the same scandalous and felonious manner. Mr. Farmer has given this transaction to all the world in Curry's own words, to whom the offer was made, and who actually received a part of the public money as the reward of his villainy. What an idea does this give of the manner places are got in the present age?

As to Mr. Wilkes's not having any degree of guilt in this whole business, though perhaps some indiscretion to answer for, it will very little avail. He will be equally punished, as if he had committed the most enormous wickedness, for he dared to attack a proud and powerful minister, conscious of his own crimes, and implacable in his nature. Whatever private cause, however, of resentment the other enemies of Lord B—— may have, Mr. Wilkes had none. He can declare in the words of Brutus,

“ For my part,

I know no personal cause to spurn at him,
But for the general.

I will only add, that he ought to have reflected on what Swift says to a friend, “ Your innocence is a protection that wise men
“ are ashamed to rely on, further than with God.”

Copies

Copies of the two Sentences against Mr. Wilkes.

Saturday next after fifteen days from the day of the Holy Trinity, in the eighth year of King George the third.

Middlesex.

The KING
against
John Wilkes, Esq.

THE defendant being brought here into court, in custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this court, by virtue of a rule of this court, and being convicted of certain trespasses, contempts, and grand misdemeanors, in printing and publishing a seditious and scandalous libel, entitled, *The North Briton*, No. 45, whereof he is impeached. It is ordered, that he, the said defendant, for his offences aforesaid, do pay a fine, to our sovereign Lord the King, of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain: And it is further ordered, that he, the said defendant, be imprisoned, in the custody of the said Marshal, for the space of ten calendar months now next ensuing: And it is lastly ordered, that he, the said defendant, be now remanded to the custody of the said Marshal, to be by him kept in safe custody in execution of the judgment aforesaid, and until he shall have paid the said fine.

On the motion of Mr. Attorney General,
(Copy.)

By the Court.

Saturday next after fifteen days from the day of the Holy Trinity, in the eighth year of King George the third.

Middlesex.

The KING
against
John Wilkes, Esq.

THE defendant being brought here into court, in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this court, by virtue of a rule of this court, and being convicted of certain trespasses, contempts, and grand misdemeanors, in printing and publishing an obscene and impious libel, intitled, *An Essay on Woman*, and other impious libels in the information, in that behalf specified, whereof he is impeached; and having also been convicted of certain other trespasses, contempts, and misdemeanors, for printing and publishing a certain other libel, intitled, *The North Briton*, No. 45: For which he hath this day been sentenced, and ordered by this court to pay a fine of 500l. and to be imprisoned in the custody of the said Marshal for the space of ten calendar months. It is now ordered by this court, that the said defendant, for his trespasses, contempts, and misdemeanors, first above mentioned, in printing and publishing the said obscene and impious libels, do pay a further fine to our sovereign Lord the King of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great-Britain: And that he, the said defendant, be further imprisoned in the custody of the said Marshal for the space of twelve calendar months, to be computed from and after

after the determination of his aforesaid imprisonment for printing and publishing the said other libel, intituled, *The North Briton*, No. 45. And it is further ordered, that he, the said defendant, shall give security for his good behaviour for the space of seven years, to be computed from and after the end and expiration of the said twelve calendar months, to be computed as aforesaid, to wit, himself, the said defendant, in the sum of one thousand pounds, with two sufficient sureties in five hundred pounds each: And it is lastly ordered, that he, the said defendant, be now remanded to the custody of the said Marshal, to be by him kept in safe custody, in execution of this judgment, and until he shall have paid the said fine, and given such security as aforesaid,

On the motion of Mr. Attorney-General,

(Copy.)

By the Court.

Quere, to the gentlemen of the law, Are both the sentences valid?

To the EDITOR.

I Desire you to correct a mistake committed by a writer in the public prints, who signs himself *An Englishman who has read the history of Scotland*. He says, "Mr. Wilkes's assertion, that James I. crossed the Tweed full of the arbitrary notions of Scottish government, very much amazed me;" but I believe, Sir, you will be more amazed when I tell you, that there is no such assertion in Mr. Wilkes's Introduction. His words are, "James I. who crossed the Tweed with all the Scottish ideas of vassalage, and was still to learn the generous principles of our Magna Charta, with his own hand, tore this protestation (that the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of parliament, were the undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England), out of their journals;" an act of tyranny in our first Scottish King against an English parliament, more rude, more indecent, more enormous, than any act of the present, or the late French King, against the parliaments of France. I wish he would tell us, whether Scotland was not at that time a kingdom composed almost entirely of imperious, arbitrary nobles, and mean, slavish vassals, which is all Mr. Wilkes says.

Rapin, however, shall inform him what were the first Stuart's ideas of government when he crossed the Tweed. "It is cert. in, James's chief care, after his accession, was to maintain the prerogative royal in its utmost extent; nay, to carry it higher than any of his predecessors. He must, at the time I am now speaking of, have conceived a larger notion than had been hitherto formed of the power of an English King, since, when he came, to Newark, he ordered a cut-purse to be hanged by his sole warrant, and without trial. It cannot be denied, that this was beyond the lawful power of a King of England, and directly contrary to the privileges of the English nation." Tindal's translation, So early did

did the Stuarts begin to invade the rights of this country.—In another place Rapin says, “ He (James I.) was persuaded, that the authority of sovereigns over their subjects was unlimited, and that all monarchical governments ought to be absolute, not considering, that these maxims could not be applied to the government of England, without destroying the constitution.” These *maxims* appear to have been carefully transmitted as *family maxims* from father to son through the whole Stuart line, who seem to have studied every possible revenge on the English for all the noble victories of their Henrys, and their Edwards, the same hatred to this nation always rankling in the hearts of the Stuarts, as among the rest of the Scots,

*A fatal race,
Whom God in wrath contriv'd to place,
To scourge our crimes, and gall our pride,
A constant thorn in England's side ;
Whom first, our greatness to oppose,
He in his vengeance mark'd for foes ;
Then, more to serve his wrathful ends,
And more to curse us, mark'd for friends.*

A writer, who means to be fair, always gives an author's own words, and if they are only a quotation from another, he ought to remark it. This is a fault a person has very lately committed, who charges to Mr. *Wilkes's* account a passage quoted from *Rapin* relative to Queen Elizabeth.

I beg pardon for taking up your time with these minute circumstances, but some answer ought to be given, even to those who have the plain intention to deceive, because every man has not the means and opportunity of detecting them.

A. B.

Epistle to John Wilkes, Esq; in confinement.

WHILE ev'ry truly English breast
Swells with regret and rage possess'd,
And mourns, O Wilkes, thy doom,
I rather joy, who hope to view
Thy steady soul her plan pursue,
And equal ancient Rome.

See M——d, impotent of soul,
In pale and silent malice scowl,
And yield to Y——s the blow !
Vain all their rage, thy noble heart
Invulnerable scorns the dart,
Nor heeds the feeble foe.

That

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Thus faithful to his country's good,
Unmov'd the menac'd Roman stood
At all the punic rage;
Bravely he met the death he dar'd,
Nor fear'd the cruel pains prepar'd,
Their malice to assuage.

Nor less the malice of t' y foes
I deem, O man of many woes!
And much-enduring mind!
Nor less shall be thy fame: I see
Thy rescu'd country smile on thee,
And glory gleam behind.

But should a venal senate fear
To check oppression's proud career,
Nor vindicate thy wrong,
Let hope, with conscience to attend,
Be thy inseparable friend,
And speed the hours along.

Then let no pensive thought be thine,
Nor let thy patriot heart repine,
But be *these things* thy sport;
For know—that Time shall set thee free,
Unthank'd relentless Ma——y,
Unthank'd a thoughtless court.

Oxford, June 30, 1768.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following SPEECH is said to have been lately made by A GREAT LAWYER, or rather a A GREAT ORATOR, and is reprinted from the public papers, with the addition of a few notes, as a proof how captivating, in many points, are the meretricious arts of eloquence beyond the sober words of truth and fact. †

Satis Eloquentiæ, Veritatis parum.

I HAVE now gone through the several errors assigned by the defendant, and which have been ingeniously argued, and confidently relied on [*and surely with the greatest reason: even the very first error assign'd by Mr. Serjeant ——— for the reversal of Mr. ———'s outlawry was adopted by ———*] by his counsel at the bar: I have given my sentiments upon them, and if upon the whole, after the closest attention to what has been said, and with the strongest inclination in favour [*Jeffreys said to Sidney, I am sure you had all the FAVOUR shew'd you that ever any prisoner had, p. 64.*] of the

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† The words of Jeffreys are quoted from the trial of Algernon Sidney, Esq; published in 1684 by the authority of Sir George Jeffreys, Knight and Baronet, Lord Chief Justice of England, and printed for Benj. Tooke, in folio.

the defendant, [*the same strong inclination in favour of the Defendant produced the alteration of the records of both causes. The FAVOURABLE consequence was, Mr. ———'s conviction. ——— STRONG INCLINATION IN FAVOUR OF Mr. ———, is a Burlesque unfit for a Court of ———*] no arguments which have been urged, no cases which have been cited, no reasons that occur to me [*yet you actually reversed the outlawry on the first reasons of Serjeant ———*] are sufficient to satisfy me in my conscience and judgment, that this outlawry should be reversed, I am bound to affirm it—And here let me make a pause [*as every other man did, of astonishment, after hearing Serjeant ———'s speech, and then such a declaration from ———.*]

Many arguments have been suggested, both in and out of court, upon the consequences of establishing this outlawry, either as they may affect the Defendant as an individual, or the public in general. As to the first, whatever they may be, the defendant has brought them upon himself; they are inevitable consequences of law arising from his own act; [*yes of LAW, as explain'd by ——— or Jeffreys. The last speaks out, when he says, the point in law you are to take from the court, gentlemen, whether there be fact sufficient, that is your duty to consider, p. 27.*] if the penalty, to which he is thereby subjected, is more than a punishment adequate to the crime he has committed [*if this is agreeable to LAW, it is only to ———'s LAW: it is not to JUSTICE*] he should not have brought himself into this unfortunate predicament, by flying from the justice of his country; [*he never FLED: he went to see his daughter, was too ill to return at the time of the trials and expulsion, and rather too sensible to return so soon after as his enemies wished*] he thought proper to do so, and he must taste the fruits of his own conduct, however bitter and unpalatable they may be; and although we may be heartily sorry for any person who has brought himself into this situation, it is not in our power, (God forbid it should ever be in our power!) to deliver him from it; we cannot prevent the judgment of the law, by creating irregularity in the proceedings; [*so says Jeffreys, we are bound to see the methods of justice preserved, they are those that you and all the King's subjects are bound to conform to, p. 5.*] we cannot prevent the consequences of that judgment by pardoning the crime; [*did he ever ask YOUR PARDON?—he only demanded JUSTICE of you*] if the defendant has any pretensions to mercy [*he never talked to you of MERCY, but of JUSTICE—he knows your tender Mercies are Cruelty*] those pretensions must be urged, and that power exercised in another place, where the constitution has wisely and necessarily vested it: The crown will judge for itself; [*I wish it would in all cases*] it does not belong to us to interfere with punishment, we have only to declare the law; [*'Tis not we oblige you, Mr. Sidney, 'tis the Law obliges you. We are the Ministers of the Law, 'tis the Law says we are not, &c. p. 7.*] none of us had any concern in the prosecution of this business, nor any wishes [*why then alter the records?*] upon the event of it; it was not our fault that the Defendant was prosecuted for the libels upon which he has been convicted; I [*it is ——— who speaks*] took no share in another place, in the measures which were taken to prosecute him for one of them; [*then*]

[then your friend, Sir Bull-face Double fee, has injured you grossly] it was not our fault that he was convicted; [did you not alier the records, without which it is certain he had not been convicted?] it was not our fault that he fled; it was not our fault that he was outlawed; [but was it not your fault that the outlawry was not reversed long before, in the same Term of the Pleadings?] it was not our fault that he rendered himself up to justice; [is a man's RENDERING HIMSELF UP TO JUSTICE a fault?] none of us revived the prosecution against him, nor could any one of us stop that prosecution when it was revived; it is not our fault if there are not any errors upon the record, nor is it in our power to create any if there are none; we are bound by our oath and in our consciences, [— says we are bound by our oath and in our conscience, Jeffreys says we are bound by our consciences and our oaths to see right done to you; and though we are judges upon earth, we are accountable to the judge of heaven and earth, and we act according to our consciences, though we don't act according to your opinion, p. 64.] to give such a judgment as the law will warrant, and as our reason can approve; such a judgment as we must stand or fall by, in the opinion of the present times, and of posterity; in doing it, therefore, we must have regard to our reputation as honest men, and men of skill and knowledge competent to the stations we hold; no considerations whatsoever should mislead us from this great object, to which we ever ought, and, I trust, ever shall direct our attention. But consequences of a public nature, reasons of state, political ones, have been strongly urged, [yes to you at Sion-house, in South-Audley-street, &c.] (private anonymous letters sent to me I shall pass over) open avowed publications which have been judicially noticed, and may therefore be mentioned, have endeavoured to influence or intimidate the Court, and so prevail upon us to trifle and prevaricate with God, [Jeffreys talked frequently of God, "if you be not guilty, I pray God you may escape, p. 6, I pray God season this affliction to you, p. 67, Let us have no remarks, but a FAIR TRIAL in God's name. p. 10.] our consciences, and the public: It has been intimated that consequences of a frightful nature will flow from the establishment of this outlawry; [yes, such as may always be apprehended from a gross injustice, if the Outlawry had not been reversed] it is said, the people expect the reversal, that the temper of the times demand it, that the multitude will have it so, [they demand and will have justice] that the continuation of the outlawry in full force will not be endured, [because unjust, as it is now acknowledged] that the execution of the law upon the defendant will be resisted; [could there have been ANY EXECUTION OF THE LAW without the consent of Mr.—? Your brother — said, that he would EXECUTE THE LAW: bravo—a J— turn Jack Ketch! but he has at last found out what nature design'd him for] these are arguments which will not weigh a feather [AN ARGUMENT WEIGHING A FEATHER is a strange expression] with me. If insurrection and rebellion [there is little fear of any REBELLION, but from your countrymen, and your native North, which reduced the two last of 1715 and 1745.] are to follow our determination,

nation, we have not to answer for the consequences, though we should be the innocent cause, [*what, though your sentence were iniquitous? though you had not reversed the Outlawry?—Would you not then have been answerable for all the consequences?*] we can only say, *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*; we shall discharge our duty without expectations of approbation, or the apprehensions of censure; if we are subjected to the latter unjustly, we must submit to it; we can't prevent it; we will take care not to deserve it. [*then you will prevent it?*] He must be a weak man indeed who can be staggered by such a consideration.

The misapprehension, or the misrepresentation of the ignorant or the wicked, the *Mendax infamia*, which is the consequence of both, are equally indifferent to, unworthy the attention of, and incapable of making any impression on men of firmness and intrepidity.—[*true, but Horace tells you that the MENDAX INFAMIA TERRET MENDOSUM ET MENDACEM*]—Those who imagine judges are capable of being influenced by such unworthy indirect means, most grossly deceive themselves; [*judges have been so influenced in former times*] and for my own part, I trust that my temper, and the colour [*what is the colour? black?*] and conduct of my life, have clothed me with a suit of armour to shield me from such arrows. If I have ever supported the king's measures [*what King's?*] if I have ever afforded any assistance to government; if I have discharged my duty as a public or private character, [*rise, departed shade of Vernon of Ludgate-hill, and tell us how — and you passed your evenings—no essay on woman I dare say. You both held with Pope, THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND IS MAN,*] by endeavouring to preserve pure and perfect the principles of the Constitution, [*by the famous letter to the Mayor of Maidstone to deliver the Hessian soldier committed for felony, which Lord — only copied from your Manuscript, &c*] maintain unsullied the honour of the courts of Justice, [*by the Juryman set aside, D'— business, &c.*] and, by an upright administration of, to give a due effect to the laws, I have hitherto done it without any other gift or reward [*Is not 4000 l. a year, &c. &c. a REWARD?*] than that most pleasing and most honourable one, the conscientious conviction of doing what was right. I do not affect to scorn the opinion of mankind; I wish earnestly for popularity; [*I believe it*] I will seek and will have popularity; [*I do not believe it*] but I will tell you how I will obtain it [*impossible while — — —*] I will have that popularity which follows, and not that which is run after [*never of any kind, you run from it*]—It's not the applause of a day, it's not the huzzas of thousands, that can give a moment's satisfaction to a rational being; that man's mind must indeed be a weak one, and his ambition of a most depraved sort, who can be captivated by such wretched allurements [*what as the applause of one's country?*] or satisfied with such momentary gratifications [*what! as the approbation of his fellow Citizens?—following a steady Course of Virtue*]—I say with the Roman Orator, and can say it with as much truth as he did, "*Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam non infamiam, putarem*;"

tares :” [then like Cicero to Luccius, you must beg your Countryman Tobias Smollet to falsify History for you, and you will shine on our Records] but the threats have been carried further, personal violence has been denounced, [when?] unless public humour be complied with; I do not fear such threats; I don’t believe there is any reason to fear them : [then why make this parade of your pretended courage in not fearing them?] “Tis not the genius of the worst of men in the worst of times to proceed to such shocking extremities [surely this often happened to the worst of men in the worst of times, to Buckingham, and others] but if such an event should happen, let it be so; even such an event might be productive of wholesome effects; such a stroke might rouse the better part of the nation from their lethargic condition to a state of activity, to assert and execute the law, and punish the daring and impious hands which had violated it; and those who now supinely behold the danger which threatens all liberty, from [prophane Scottish hands and an arbitrary administration] the most abandoned licentiousness, might, by such an event, be awakened to a sense of their situation, as drunken men are oftentimes stunned into sobriety. If the security of our persons and our property, [against General Warrants, the Seizure of Papers, and the Third Regiment] of all we hold dear and valuable, are to depend upon the caprice of a giddy multitude, or to be at the disposal of a giddy mob [an arbitrary Secretary, or his Man’s Man] if, in compliance with the humours, and to appease the clamours of those, all civil and political institutions [I do not like Judges who talk of POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS] are to be disregarded or overthrown, a life somewhat more than sixty is not worth preserving at such a price, and he can never die too soon, [I think so] who lays down his life in support and vindication of the policy, the government and the constitution of his country [I had rather a bad life were paid down to justice than to nature.]

Q U E R I E S.

Query 1. Is not this Speech rather ——— panegyrick on himself, than a discourse on the reversal of Mr. ———’s Outlawry?

II. Would it not have been more proper for the ESTABLISHING than the REVERSAL of the Outlawry?

III. Was it not studied when the former was intended?

Extract of a Letter from Guildford, July 19.

“ The quarter sessions ended on Friday last, Sir F—— N—— chairman. Many persons were to be tried for riots in St. George’s fields and Southwark :—Whether Sir F—— was chairman *pro hac vice*, or is intended to be continued in that station, I cannot tell; but the gentlemen of the county, who remember how odious he was in the eyes of a certain knight of the shire some few years ago, were struck with as much amazement at his presiding amongst them, as they were at the former’s joining him at the Guildford election. Most of the prisoners charged with committing riots, appearing to have been bound over for the most trivial offences, (if waiting

waiting to see Mr. Wilkes from a window at the King's-Bench-prison from motives of curiosity can be said to be any offence at all) were discharged; but John Truckle, who was seized one evening in St. George's-fields, was ordered to be imprisoned nine months, and to find surety for his good behaviour; and John Percival, being convicted of marking No. 45 on the back of Richard Capel, Esq; one of the Justices, was ordered to be imprisoned two years, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years after. At the same time John Seymour, convicted of stealing linen and stockings, was ordered to be imprisoned six weeks. At dinner sat at the upper end. Sir F—— N——, and the Right Hon. G—— O——, Esq. From the familiar intercourse between them, it is certain they are on the best terms, notwithstanding former dislikes. After giving some few other toasts, the chairman, at the desire of Mr. O——, drank Gillam and Liberty, with three huzzas, which was followed by part of the company only. After that they drank the healths of such other of the Justices of the peace as were concerned in the action of St. George's-fields, and thanks to them for their conduct. It is said, several of the Justices present, and amongst them the other knight of the shire, betrayed great dislike to the apparent change in the principles of some of the company; and the middling and lower class of people in the county are universally discontented. They recollect Mr. O——'s professions formerly, and his drinking at Epfom, on his re-election in 1765, Mr. Wilkes's health, with nine huzzas, and the epithets he then gave him, of his being *the first and most deserving of Englishmen*. The esteem we all had for the late Sp——r hath hitherto prevented any opposition; but the notion the electors have of his son's junction with the *Favourite*, the share he had in the grant of the P——d estate to Sir J——s L——, and his turning against Mr. Wilkes, added to other less public considerations, have worked a very great change in the opinions of the freeholders, and they are now extremely anxious for an opposition, which cannot fail to break out at the next general election at farthest. It is said near thirty gentlemen have agreed to raise 200l. each to support an opposition; but, though their names are frequently mentioned, they have kept, and, it is said, intend to keep, their plan a secret.

"Sir F—— N—— has got very good footing at Guildford; he takes every opportunity of obliging the electors, by employing them in the buildings he is carrying on in the neighbourhood, laying out his money in town, and giving advice gratis. The voters that were for Mr. Parker, at the late election, either have, or will join Sir F——; so that in all probability he will be able to return two members for this town hereafter. Those who have heard of his conduct to Sir William Meredith, in relation to the borough of Wigan, do not doubt his inclination.—Your *quondam* friend's conduct, has appeared irreconcilable to the rules of common sense in supporting him, but

Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

The

The harvest in Spain has failed this year; and the merchants of that country have written to their correspondents here, to enquire what appearance the wheat makes in England, and in case of a good one, whether it is probable the prohibition of the exportation will be taken off, and they may expect a supply from hence. In Spain the harvest is much earlier than in England, and at Cadiz they had new wheat at market the middle of last month. According to accounts from many parts of England, the wheat makes a most promising appearance; but as to the prohibition being taken off, the merchants have been told there is little or no reason to expect it, as one good harvest will not now furnish us with *the stock which ought to be kept up.*

Extract of a letter from Rome.

“ The cruel death of Abbe Winckelmann has spread a general horror through this city, where he was universally beloved. It is as yet uncertain, who will succeed him as *secretary of the Vatican*, and *Superintendent of the antiquities of Rome*. His collection of Roman coins he has left to Mr. Wilkes, with whom he was in constant correspondence, and to whom he had given a fine antique urn of porphyry. The Abbe was every day with him during his abode in this city, and had then a medal struck of him, on one side of which was the head, with the words of Virgil, *pulchra pro libertate*, in the exergue *natus 28 die Octobris, 1727*. On the other was a crown of laurel, and in the middle, *Amicitiae vot.* In the exergue the two lines of Horace, *Serus in coelum redeas, diuque lætus intersis populo quirini.*

There is a false notion, which generally prevails, that our fellow-subjects of Scotland approve the measures of administration, because it is well known that Lord Bute is the secret mover of every political spring. But the most sensible among the Scots are enemies to his lordship; for they are convinced he was the cause of the antient enmity between the two nations being revived in all its force, which, if he had never been born, would have now been almost extinguished, and because he seems determined not to let them, any more than the English, enjoy those liberties and privileges, which they begin to relish among us, since they have been the heirs of *Magna Charta.*

T W E L V E Q U E R I E S.

1. Was the general warrant, under which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended *legal*?
2. Was the seizure of his papers *legal*?
3. Was the making use of those papers in a criminal prosecution *legal*?
4. Was the corrupting a servant to betray and rob his master *legal*?
5. Was

5. Was shifting the custody of Mr. Wilkes, after the *Habeas Corpus* was known to be granted, *legal*?

6. Was his commitment to the tower for a bailable offence, and denying any person access, who was ready to have bailed him, and the depriving him of the use of pen, ink, and paper, to apply to counsel, or otherwise, *legal*?

7. Was the alteration of the records in two criminal prosecutions, only the evening before the trials, without his knowledge, and against the consent of his solicitor, *legal*?

8. Was the branding the North-Briton, No. 45, with the epithet *treasonable* at first in the general warrant to inflame, when in all the subsequent proceedings that pretence was given up, *legal*?

9. Was the refusal to accept Mr. Wilkes's personal surrender, in order to question the legality of the outlawry, *legal*?

10. Was the refusal of bail, during the dependance of the question on the outlawry, *legal*?

11. Was the delay of justice in the reversal of the outlawry, when it was reversed on the arguments first used, *legal*?

12. Was the outlawry, *legal*?

PRAY when is this rage of the *alteration of records and authentic papers* to cease? Ever since L— M— justified the alteration he made in Mr. Wilkes's two causes, the consequence of which was that Gentleman's conviction, every little printer and engraver alters even the original pieces which bear his name, without the least scruple or ceremony.

Mr. S. Bladon, in Paternoster Row, has published a print called *the arms of liberty and slavery*, and at the bottom has given Mr. Wilkes's last address to the *gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Middlesex*: but, Sir, he has made a material alteration, and has put Mr. Wilkes's name to what he never said. He declared, *the justice of the nation should have place against the first and great criminal, the late secretary of state, Lord Halifax*; but in the address re-published by Mr. Bladon, the words are, *the first and great DELINQUENT*. This proceeding, Sir, is very unfair, and we can never know what a man has really said, if such alterations are allowed. It is the address of Mr. Bladon, not of Mr. Wilkes.

In the *Craftsman*, or *Say's Weekly Journal*, the words *first and great criminal*, are entirely omitted, and without a dash from the printer, at least, to have informed the reader that the whole sentence was not given.

I do not, Sir, at present trouble you with any other authorities to justify L— M—, except these two of Mr. Samuel Bladon, and Mr. Charles Say; but as I have mentioned the word *criminal*, I must take notice of what a gentleman says on that subject in the Public Advertiser, who signs *Pro Bono Publico*, and dates his letter from *W— Hall, Staffordshire, June 29*. The words are, "Surely there is one passage in that address which deserves censure; I mean

mean that where he mentions the Earl of Halifax in terms altogether illiberal, and unbecoming a scholar and a gentleman, in which light I have ever beheld Mr. Wilkes. I am the more amazed at this, when I recollect his well-wrote spirited letter to the Duke of Grafton, (and on other occasions of complaint) where he mentions the behaviour of Lord Halifax, in a manner that displayed that noble lord's true character, and the writer's candor; nay, in this very last *address*, he says he shall conduct himself without rancour or malice, and yet declares against the *first and great criminal*, the late secretary of state, the lord Halifax, not so much for the punishment he has merited, as for the example to any present or future minister, who might otherwise be tempted to invade the sacred liberties of our country."

I desire to know of this gentleman, if the issuing a *general warrant* against the *personal liberty* of every man in England, and an order for the *seizure of his papers*, is not a *crime*, a very heinous *crime*, and of consequence if the person who commits it is not a *criminal*, a *great criminal*, shall I say a *more enormous crime* he could not well commit? In my opinion, *that* word can never be better applied. It is the very proper word on this occasion. I have likewise seen it lately employed on another atrocious affair with great fitness. I mean, Sir, in the address of the city of Carlisle to their Representatives, Lord Edward Bentinck and George Musgrave, Esq. their worthy and free constituents, alluding to the late partial conduct of the sheriff of the county of Cumberland, Sir Gilfred Lawson, in the return of the Favourite's son-in-law, Sir James Lowther, against a clear majority on the poll, make use of this expression: "In case any instance of misbehaviour in returning-officers should occur, we call upon you to exert yourselves to the utmost in detecting and punishing with severity CRIMINALS of that sort."

Now, Sir, without bringing you or myself into any difficulties in the court of King's-bench, or the house of lords, I will go a step farther than Mr. Wilkes. He has declared that he will proceed against Lord Halifax, as *the first and great criminal*; I add, that I hope hereafter to be justified in calling his lordship a *convict*, I think, Sir, this must happen. He must be *convicted* in the course of a few months, from the known firmness and incorruptibility of Mr. Wilkes, who is regularly pursuing, equally in and out of prison, the plan of *Liberty* and supporting the *laws* against the favourers of despotism and the oppressors of his country.

The gentleman, Sir, attempts to justify Lord Halifax's issuing a *general warrant* by the large catalogue of Secretaries of State above these forty years past, and even that idol of the people, the late Mr. Pitt. I will venture to say that there are scarcely any political points, however opposite and contradictory, but may be in this manner justified by the conduct of Mr. Pitt; and whoever pleads for or against continental wars, for or against German alliances, for or against the encrease of the army at home, &c. &c. may find

an apology for all he desires in the speeches, and from the conduct of Mr. Pitt. Colonel B——, his present favourite, once told him in the house that he was a *heap of contradictions*. But, Sir, the gentleman will be, I believe, the last man in our island who quotes Mr. Pitt. That idol is no longer worshipped. The people have found of what base materials it was composed, have thrown it down, and scoff at the very name. It lies prostrate in the dust, and shall never be raised again.

He says, "Mr. Pitt was proved to have been guilty, when in that list (*of Secretaries*) of being the invader of the sacred liberties of his country." I wish to hear what atonement he has since made to *Liberty*, or in what point he has endeavoured to secure our constitution against the late attempts of our enemies at home, or to prevent them for the future. But he has got from the crown by the help of the people, the three objects of his guilty ambition, a title, a place, and a pension, has finished his political career by the gratification of the only things he had in view, and is now, I suppose, as happy as his health and his conscience will let him be. The public, however, pursue his name with a just indignation, and we may at present say with Cicero, *populare nunc nihil tam est quam odium popularium*.

He adds, "as I have the honour of knowing Lord Halifax to be a true-born Englishman, and a staunch whig, I will pawn my life for his appearing upon every important occasion as vigilant and spirited in the defence of the liberties of his country as any Wilkes in the kingdom." This is a bold assertion, when we have before seen that Lord Halifax issued a *general warrant*; when for four years he has supported the legality of it, and when Mr. Wilkes has in this very cause, as well as in other instances, stood forth for Liberty. In principle I believe his lordship to be a *Whig*. In place, like other *Whigs*, he acts the *Tory*. Turn him out, he recommences *Whig*, and so continues till he gets in again. This is the case of almost all our great men. There is nothing so like a *Tory*, as a modern *Whig* in place. A real modern *Tory* out of place (if there are any such) acts like, though he will not own the principles of, a *Whig*.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

A. B.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

*A Letter to an August Assembly; on the present Posture of
"Affairs: wherein the hard treatment of Mr. Wilkes, and the
"Cause of Riots are duly considered; and Remedies provided."*
Quarto. 2s. Tomlinson.

IT were to be wished that the author would review his title page, and instead of *duly considered*, substitute *dully considered*. There has not appeared a more confused, more rambling, and more trifling performance upon the subjects he treats of, during the present unsettled state of the nation.

When we consider either the method or style; the periods; or the matter of this writer, we cannot help thinking that he has followed Quintilian's advice, which is to "learn to write, before he learns to read."

A serious and friendly Address to the People, with regard to the Causes of their present Complaints, &c.—and a touch by the Way at those who may be answerable for the Mischiefs not only done by the Populace, but by the Military. By a Tradesman. 1s. Nicoll.

A Weak and malicious performance, intended to charge Mr. Wilkes with the late riots, and the disagreeable circumstances which happened lately in St. George's Fields. The author styles himself a *Tradesman*; but it is evident that he is like to make but a poor trade of writing. But to give him a *touch by the way*, in his own language, we would advise him, as he advises others, to forego his pen,—“Be wise—be peaceable—and mind his business.”

A Letter to the Author of the North Briton; No. 50: By a Barrister of the Middle Temple. 1s. Nicoll.

THE author styles himself a barrister, but does not seem to be well enough versed in the law for an attorney's clerk. He is so great an adept in writing, that he sets out with

with representing ignorance as a *shining* quality. As for the nature of his performance, it cannot be better described than in his own words: "It is like a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, meaning nothing."

No Liberty! no Life! Proper wages, and down with Oppression. In a Letter to the brave People of England. By John Englishman. 6d. Harris.

THOUGH the author would have us think that life is not eligible without the enjoyment of liberty, yet he means nothing less than what he promises in his title page. He is a weak recommender of the long exploded doctrine of passive obedience in its most aggravating extent; and, by his endeavour to exculpate a certain person from being any ways concerned, at present, in public affairs, discovers his cloven hoof, and shews that he cannot be any thing less than a *Scot*, or a slave to *Scotsmen*.

The Foundation of British Liberty, &c. Peat.

THE author sets out with informing us, that his work is founded upon a *little piece*, on the same subject, which appeared a few years since.—The observations our author makes are very trite; and he seems, on the whole, not equal to the subject he writes upon.

Remarks on some late Observations of a Licentiate upon the Constitution of Physic, &c. 4to. 1s. 6d. Doddsley.

THE raillery of this piece is pointed and sensible; the objections brought against the constitution of the college of physicians are refuted with strength and humour; the English universities are defended with a becoming warmth; and the plan laid down by the author of the animadversions is shewn to be chimerical, frivolous, and unnecessary.

Reasons for an Augmentation of the Army on the Irish Establishment. Dublin printed, London reprinted for Becker and de Hondt. 1s. 8vo.

THIS pamphlet is a specimen of Hibernian politics, as well as Hibernian modesty.—But, to speak our opinion of this piece without partiality, it abounds with sophistry, and contains

contains no argument, in favour of the measure it would support, which has not been fully answered in the original pieces, that may be met with in the Political Register for July last.

Two additional Volumes to Mr. Doddsley's Collection of Poems. 12mo. Pearch.

IN the editor's advertisement we are informed that the author's design was to select and preserve such *fugitive* pieces, as deserve a longer remembrance, and were in danger of perishing in oblivion otherwise. But, when we find in this collection several pieces of Mason, &c. we cannot but think that he has paid these authors but a very bad compliment; and that he has at the same time acted the plagiarist in robbing them of their property. With respect to the originals, it is sufficient to say,

"Sunt bona quædam, sunt mala plura."

Things as they are. 1s. Bingley.

A Wretched composition, without either sentiment, rhyme, harmony, or grammar!

The Battle of the Bonnets, a political Poem from the Erse. 4to. 2s. 6d. Bingley.

AN old poem, called *The Battle of the Genii*, but now imposed upon the world under a *new* title.

A Treatise upon the Formation of the human Species, and the Disorders incident to Procreation; with the Methods of Cure. By James Fleming, Hospital Surgeon. 12mo. 1s. 6d. Davis.

IT is much to be questioned which is greatest, the author's ignorance, or his obscenity. He has certainly verified the proverbial maxim of a great writer:

"Immodest words admit of no defence,

"For want of decency is want of sense."

The Doctrine of Inflammations, founded upon Reason and Experience, and entirely cleared from the contradictory Systems of Boerhaave, Van Swieten, &c. By Dr. Magenije.

OUR

OUR author enquires into the causes of inflammation, gives us the theories of Boerhaave and Van Swieten, which he endeavours to explode, and proposes a new one himself. His stile is too turgid, too much abounding with technical terms; and the arguments he has produced are far from being conclusive. His attempt is certainly great:

“Magnis tamen decidit ausis.”

Four Pastorals. By T. S. Esq; of the Middle Temple.
4to. 2s.

A Paltry collection of rhimes beneath criticism. The author should have recollected these lines of the Roman poet:

“——mediocribus esse poetis

“Non di, non homines, non concessere columnæ.”

Liberty Chastised, or Patriotism in Chains; a Tragi-comi-political Farce, as it was performed by his M——’s S——ts, in the Year 1268. Modernized by Paul Tell-Truith, Esq; 8vo. 1s. Steare.

DULL! scurrilous! low! and seditious.

The Statesman foiled, a Comedy in two Acts, performed at the Theatre in the Hay-market. The Music composed by Mr. Rush.

A Thing which has neither plot, sentiment, drama, nor English! Mr. Rush is much to be pitied for being taken in to support so much nonsense by the powers of music.

Elogy on Prince Henry of Prussia, composed by the King of Prussia. 12mo. 2s. Ekmessly.

THO’ not in the hackneyed style of panegyrics, it abounds too much in synonymous sentences, which approach almost to tautologies. The Prosopopeia at the end is sublime, and the apostrophe is worthy of the pen of one who rivals the most elegant writers in style, and the greatest heroes in battle. The original french is excellent, but the English translation execrable.

A genuine

A genuine Collection of all the new Songs, Ballads, Canzatas and Choruses now singing at Vauxhall Gardens
6d.

A strong resemblance of a drag-net, which is filled with stones and rubbish instead of fish.

A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy. By R. Finch, M. A. 6d.

A Well meant discourse; but defective in elegance and warmth. Its effects may be judged from observing that the collection for the orphans of the clergy amounted only to 1200l. whereas that for the prostitutes at the Magdalen was more than 2000l. *O tempera. O mores.*

Instructive and Entertaining Exercises, with the Rules of the French Syntax. By John Perrin. 12mo. Law.

OUR author has endeavoured to render this collection of Exercises both entertaining and instructive. The method of part III. which treats of the agreement of the participle, is at once new, easy, and expeditious. To this are added the history of the most celebrated authors in Greek and Latin, intermixed with anecdotes curious and entertaining, and an appendix of plain and familiar cards. The whole is concluded with an alphabetical table of the Conjugation of the regular and irregular verbs in one view, with references to different parts of the work. In our judgment this collection of exercises is the most elaborate that hath appeared; the author has descended into all the minutiae of the French language without being tedious; his examples are fraught with double utility, inasmuch as they serve not only to illustrate his rules, but likewise to convey some useful moral instructions to the mind. He shews himself no less a master of the French than he does of the English; and as he has omitted nothing that was necessary; it is evident he has been equally cautious in admitting any thing that is superfluous or trifling. On the whole this seems to be the best work of the kind, whether we consider the case of the master, or the improvement of the scholar.

Liberty,

Liberty, a Poem, inscribed to John Wilkes, Esq; 4to.

OUR author takes great *liberty* with the harmony of English verse; as well as with the grammar of the English Language; he therefore can have no claim to the concession of the Latin Poet,

dabiturq; licentia sumpta pudenter,

Sermons on Practical Subjects. By James Fanch, Minister of the Gospel. 8vo. 5s. bound, boards 4s.

Sermons are very little read; but these will not conduce to bring them more into fashion.

True Delicacy, or the history of Lady Frances Tylney, and Henry Cecil, Esq; 2 vol. 12mo. 5s. sewed. Noble.

IF the title was altered to FALSE delicacy, it would equally suit the work.

Remarks on the Riot Act, with an Application to certain recent and alarming Facts. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Kearsly.

AN examination how far the *disagreeable circumstances*, which happened lately at St. George's fields are consistent with the riot-act. The author has acquitted himself with honour in his enquiry, and shewn, that by the riot-act the magistrate is not authorised to order the military to fire in any case upon a crowded and defenceless multitude; that all he is warranted to do is to *apprehend* and *disperse*, but that persons who are *killed* cannot be said either to be *dispersed* or *apprehended*. Several other observations equally pertinent are to be found in this piece, which is not unworthy of the perusal of the inquisitive.

Annotations on the Psalms, By James Merrick, M. A. late fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. 4to. 10s. sewed. Dodsley.

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The Pillars of the State.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For SEPTEMBER, 1768.

NUMBER XVIII.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following is the Account given of the late Transaction respecting Sir Jeffery Amherst by the friends of the Administration.

SINCE the death of lieutenant governor Fauquier the assembly of Virginia has presented to the president of the council to be transmitted to England two papers, the one a petition to the king, and the other a *remonstrance* to the parliament, in which they as good as tell the latter, not to trouble their heads about them, for they shall for the future take care of themselves. When these very extraordinary papers were received by the s—y of s—e, he laid them before the other servants of the c—n, who all agreed, it was highly expedient that the governor in chief of that province should reside there. This resolution was approved of by the k—, and his m—y gave directions to the s—y of s—e to signify it to Sir Jeffery Amherst; but at the same time not to press him to go if it was disagreeable to him, but to acquaint him that the k— would make up to him the emoluments he received out of that government.

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Vol. III,

government in another way. L—d H— accordingly called at general Amherst's house, but being told he was in the country, he wrote to him, and in terms of the utmost politeness and regard, acquainted him with the k—'s intentions. His l—p told him, that however the k— might wish to avail himself of his abilities at this time in America, yet his m—y did not forget that the government of Virginia was given to him as a reward for the great services he had done his country in America, and that therefore his orders were, not to press him to reside in that province; but if from any reason he disliked going thither, his m—y had commanded him to inform him it was his gracious intention to make good to him the emoluments of the office in the most ample manner. Sir Jeffery Amherst came to town, and waited on l— H—, he expressed his disinclination to go to Virginia, and said, that having been commander in chief in America he could not serve under general Gage as governor of a single province. L— H— replied, that if that was his only objection, he thought it might easily be answered, for that a governor was always the superior person in his own province, and that his office, being a civil one, had no relation to the command of the king's troops. However as his orders were not to press Sir Jeffery to go, and he found it was disagreeable to him, he had nothing to say, and therefore only begged to know what were the emoluments which he received out of that government, that he might acquaint the k—, and receive his commands for making out a grant for an annuity accordingly. The general said fifteen hundred guineas a year, but told his l—p, that by an annuity, he hoped he did not mean a pension. Yes, replied L— H—, I do mean a pension, and although a pension may carry with it a disagreeable idea, when it is given merely for the sake of a pension, yet when it is given as a reward for services done the public, it becomes a mark of public approbation, witness l— C—m's pension, which was given him as a reward for directing those services you so ably executed, witness too Sir E— H— his pension for saving Ireland, and why not yours for adding Canada to the British dominions. Besides, is not your present salary a pension out of the revenue of Virginia, and where can be the difference to you, whether you receive it out of the four and half per cent duty upon sugar, or the duty upon tobacco, but the difference will be material to the crown and the public, for that fund which was given for the support of a governor will be properly applied, and the crown and the people will have the advantage of the governor in chief of the province of Virginia residing in his government. The general replied,

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he should dislike a pension, but said he must submit to the k—'s pleasure, and bowed off. When L— H— reported what had passed to the k—, his m—y was most graciously pleased to order a grant of fifteen hundred guineas a year *free of all deductions, and for life*, to be charged in the four and half per cent for the use of Sir Jeffery Amherst in consideration of his great services, but before the grant could be made out, Sir Jeffery signified his intention to resign his regiments.

The counter story is as follows :

IN consequence of the disagreeable advices lately received from Virginia, it was determined by the Scottish thane to send thither lord B. the last of his friends that remained unprovided for. But, to prevent this strong mark of his influence from being discovered by the public eye, a c—t c—l was held, in which it is said to have been resolved, that it was highly necessary the governor of Virginia should reside in his province. This resolution answered all purposes at once : it dismissed Sir J. A. and it appointed lord B ; for Sir J. A. was the only person in England who could not go to America in that capacity. He had been commander in chief there ; therefore, by the rules of the army, and consistent with his own character, he could not go to serve under general Gage (the present commander in chief there) who is an inferior officer, and who had served under Sir J. in America. When the c—l broke up, lord H. directly went to Sir J. A's to acquaint him with their resolution, but was informed Sir J. was in the country : upon which lord H. returned, and wrote to him. But before the letter was delivered at Sir J's house in the country, he was set off for London ; and finding that lord H. had been at his house, he went directly to his lordship's.

Lord H. after reciting some of the above particulars, said, that as he (Sir J. A.) was lately married, he possibly might not chuse to go to America. Though this seemed like suggesting to Sir J. a reason for refusing ; yet the brave and worthy officer, whose amiable disposition and gentleman-like deportment did not suffer him to reply in a strain best adapted to the compliment, frankly and candidly answered, That, as general Gage (for whom he expressed a very great regard, and of whose abilities as an officer he spoke in terms of the highest veneration) was commander in chief in America, he could not go to serve under that officer, who was not only inferior to him in his rank in the army, but had served under him in America. That if the affairs of his colony required his going to America, he hoped the matter respecting general

Gage would be accommodated. Lord H. said, that could not be; general Gage must remain in his present situation: but added, that he should not press him (Sir J. A.) to go; and then offered him a pension of 1500 *l.* per annum, as an equivalent for his government. Sir J. A. refused to accept the offer, saying, the government of Virginia was given him expressly as a reward for services during the late war, and as a mark of the royal approbation of his conduct in America; that, when it was given him, it was considered as a sinecure, without any requisition of residence, which was never thought of or intended at the time; for that the business and whole government of the province were to be entirely managed by the lieutenant-governor. Yet, there is no doubt but he would have gone upon terms consistent with his honour, and his rank in the army.

They parted. And the next news that Sir J. A. received, was, that lord B. had kissed hands for his government of Virginia. Upon which Sir J. who received this account in the country, by a letter from his brother, came again to town, and finding it to be true, he resigned his two regiments, viz. the 15th and the 60th, to his M—— at St. James's, on the 18th of August, 1768.

Observations on these Accounts.

FROM comparing these two accounts together, the truth seems to be, that the f——y of f——e did not wish general Amherst to go to America, nor expect that he would, otherwise he would surely have offered him the same command which he before had there, and in which station it was that he had rendered his country those services the minister pretended to be so sensible of. But his friend and brother k——man being a little embarrassed by his connections with the W——y company, and having been disappointed in getting a patent, by which he might have transferred the loss upon ignorant purchasers of shares, he thought, by giving Sir Jeffery a pension of 1500 guineas, to accommodate his friend with an income of near 4000, and a convenient absence from this country. He might indeed have imagined the general would have readily made the exchange, having found his services so long slighted, and no attention paid him by any minister since his arrival in England: and now, that his former patron, the great duke of C——d was dead, and l—— C——m become incapable, he had nothing to expect. The m——r has found however that he reckoned without his host, and his failure, in this manœuvre, is but a bad symptom of his future success in his new office; at least it may induce his lordship to shew a little

the more respect to his colleagues, and not venture so boldly, as it is said he does, upon the most important measures, without consulting any of them.

These observations are clear and strong, not to say any thing of the insult that is offered the army through Sir J. A. the contempt, nay even abuse, with which merit and long service are treated; all which are so obvious as to strike every individual of the public with amazement; who may now see what encouragement is meant to be held out, in case of another war; what rewards, the strictest fidelity and innumerable hardships are likely of receiving at home.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

IN your last number you gave your readers what *you called* a letter from Boston, containing an apology for the late riots in that town, and the resolution taken up by some of the colonies to oppose the execution of the duty acts, and indeed every other *law* imposed upon them by the British parliament. I make no doubt but the subjects in the colonies reason in some such manner as your correspondent reasons for them, and that they encourage one another in expressing their contempt for parliament, and the sovereignty of Great Britain, by the hopes of finding abettors near their f——n, and m——rs to screen them from the resentment of parliament. It is indeed natural enough for them to imagine, that his M——y himself does not disapprove of their struggles to throw off their allegiance to the sovereign authority in these realms, and they may have been led to believe they have soothed his r——l ear with the flattering expressions of loyalty to his person, while they were meditating rebellion against his power; from seeing him put his government into the hands of men who had set up the standard of disunion on the part of the colonies, and sounded the trumpet for their triumph over Great Britain. To disabuse my fellow-subjects, and at the same time to vindicate the conduct of my f——n in this particular, I must beg you will give a place in your useful compilation to the following history of the accession of l— C——m and l— C——n to their present high offices. When the late D—— of C—— had alarmed the —— with the apprehensions of his m——y becoming too powerful, and holding him in the same thralldom in which the old whigs, as they call themselves, had held the late ——; and his —— thought it advisable to change them for *weaker vessels*. The introduction of

of the memorable *undoing* administration of 1765 was the consequence. Those gentlemen presently perceived they had not the confidence of their master, and that they were not taken from good liking, as indeed it was impossible they should, from the part they had taken against the peace, and the public and private support they had given to the supposed author of the North Briton. They must have been weak indeed, if they could have imagined the cordiality with which they were received was more than political, or supposed that the *favours* they were now going to *confer on* the —, by *accepting* his offices, and thereby enabling him to prove to his late servants that he *could* form a sort of a — without them, would atone for the wounds they had given to his authority, by the clamour they had raised against his measures, and the personal injuries they had done him with his people, by abetting the supposed calumnies upon his capacity and descent.

They must surely have known at whose express commands some of *them* had not long since been dismissed: and they could not expect that their behaviour upon that occasion had recommended them to the dignities to which they were now advanced. I do not therefore make too high a compliment to their sagacity, in asserting, that they did perceive they had not the confidence of their master. And knowing that to be their situation, they very prudently resolved to make themselves feared, where they were hated. They had got some popularity by opposing the —'s measures, out of office, and they determined to gain more, by sacrificing his authority and the welfare of the nation, while they hoped by such means to fortify themselves against their master, and that, to avoid the odium of turning out such *popular favourites*, he would be obliged to continue them in their employments. In pursuance of this plan, they professed their *submission* to Mr. Pitt. I don't presume to act *with* that honourable gentleman, (said the — first minister, in the house of commons) but *under* him. They debased the dignity of their master, by declaring they served him, merely because he could not do without them; and all of them, that *could speak*, denominated themselves ministers, *malgré lui*: Their measures were such as they imagined the people would like; and the gratification of the multitude was the rule of their conduct; the cyder tax and American taxes were repealed, or altered, on this principle; free ports were made in the West-Indies; and L. C. J—P— was made a p—r. The voice of the multitude was certainly with them; for the people will always like those *ministers* best who seem to be *advised*

vised by them, not those who govern them. This *back game* of these gentlemen was not unobserved by the —, and, as he had hazarded the safety of the s—e, and his own, to rid himself of too able an a——n, he could not be long in determining not to be the dupe of a weak one.

A little *particular civility* to the d— of G—— soon brought that young n——n to *recollect*, that both his rank and talents gave him a better right than L— R—— to be first m——r. The *unwitting* m——s too had furnished the — with an excellent reason for distinguishing him. In the affair of the stamp act, he and his friends had resolved not to repeal the act, but modify it; till Mr. Pitt and L— C——n declared against the right of parliament to impose any tax upon the colonies. They then thought it advisable to repeal it entirely, and gave Mr. Pitt's and L— C——n's declarations as their reasons to the — for so doing. What then could be more natural for the — to say, or at least think upon that occasion, than that if Mr Pitt and L— C——n *out of office*, were to direct his ministers, it would be much fitter to have them *in office*, and under his own direction. But a still more deep and wise motive than this weighed with his —. Those two popular gentlemen, had made their declarations in a place where they could not be questioned for them, and he saw himself deprived of the allegiance of near a fourth of his s—ts, by men who were screened from punishment: they shall act upon their opinions, and *answer* for them, therefore said the — in his wisdom; and as they have thrown my g—t into distraction by their seditious tribunitive harangues, they shall abide the issue as my counsellors; Mr. Pitt had abjured the authority of parliament to take a penny out of the colonies, but he had threatened to cut all their throats if they attempted to make their packets themselves, and l— C——n, as the parasite will always go beyond the patron, had asserted it not only to be contrary to the law of the land, but a breach of the *eternal law* of nature for any government to impose taxes on such of its subjects as did not send representatives to parliament. Doctrines of this kind, which had so evident a tendency, not only to stimulate the colonies to refuse obedience to parliament, but to encourage the mob of this country to condemn its authority and set themselves up for the fountain of power, and the controulers of king, lords, and commons, would in former times have brought their promulgers to a prison, if not a scaffold; nor would any lover of order have lamented their fate. But the times would not bear any thing which looked like severity; the mob were already in possession of g——t; these men had appealed to them against the sense of parliament in other instances,

instances, and the law of nature, which was now set up for the rule of government, made every man his own legislator, and would consequently acquit his advocates. Hence the highest aggravation of their crime. The spirit of the times, constituted their safety, by rendering it dangerous to punish them. Calling them up to govern, was the only secure means of destroying them. When the execution of the laws, the preservation of the public tranquillity, and the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the crown, and parliament were committed to them, they were left to chuse, whether they would render themselves contemptible in the eyes of their former admirers the mob, by unsaying and undoing all they had before said and done, or expose themselves to the resentment of parliament, and the terrible consequences of an impeachment. Mark the behaviour of the two men in this dilemma, the one when he was informed of the associations in the colonies to manufacture for themselves, and proscrib the manufactures of England in the very teeth of his engagements on their behalf, *shammed mad*, to avoid being called upon to support his own declarations. The other turned short upon his old friends, and asserted to their face, that the *crown alone* was the supreme authority in Great Britain; and the only judge whether the laws were salutary or hurtful; were fit to be executed, or ought to be dispensed with.

Contemptible as both were now become in this country, it was cruel in the Americans to heap more odium upon them in their distress, by pointing them out to parliament as the fomenters of all the disturbances in the colonies, and thereby calling upon parliament as it were to avenge itself upon them, rather than upon the unhappy people they had deluded.

In a future number I shall perhaps continue my remarks upon the conduct of the —, and endeavour to give my fellow subjects just notions of his political abilities and talents for government. From what I have set before them, I think they will not hesitate to pronounce him a much greater statesman than any of his m——rs; and that he has completely demolished two men, by mere dint of superior skill, who were once thought extremely dangerous f——ts. The man who now *fancies* he supports himself by balancing upon two stilts, may keep his *station* if he holds his *posture*. But if ever he should presume to raise himself erect and look about him, the old proverb of the two stools may presently have a new verification.

From

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

The following account of the flight of the Scottish thane is at your service.

Yours, B. F.

ON the first of August, a day that has been remarkably auspicious to liberty; first, in the giving us the accession of the mild house of Brunswick, and then in securing that succession by giving birth to a prince of Wales, thereby blasting, it is hoped, for ever, the most distant gleam of hope in the tyrant house of Stuart, of succeeding to the throne of these kingdoms I say, on this day (1768) for it seems as if it were marked out by heaven to be ominous to the family of Stuart; did the last, the most insolent, and who had usurped the most absolute power of any, of that accursed name, fly from this kingdom to France, under pretence of consulting his health, but in reality to seek protection from the enemy, which he could no longer obtain here; for being pursued and persecuted with the hatred and detestation of all ranks of people, his own courtiers excepted, he found himself hourly in danger. He knew he had thrown the affairs of the kingdom into utter confusion and distraction, and he saw a storm gathering round, that, in all probability, would quickly burst on his own head: for these reasons he determined to fly, and as he was certain no state would afford so secure a retreat as that to which he had rendered the most important services, he made choice of France. His intention of going was publicly known, but the day of his departure was kept a profound secret. Fate fixed it on the memorable first of August: he set off suddenly and early in the morning; he got through Rochester before he was known. Being the time of the races when he arrived at Canterbury, he was insulted there by several persons; and, in particular, was told by one person, that he ought to have his brains beat out. He made the best of his way for Dover. But he was no sooner alighted from his carriage there, than it was politely hinted to him, there was a necessity for his quitting the town as soon as possible, as some persons, who had heard of his arrival there, were preparing to insult him. He directly left the house; but as he was going to the vessel, some few having got intelligence of his flight, ran after him and pelted him with shingles till he was out of their reach. When he arrived at Calais, he was directly waited upon by the governor, who shewed him particular marks of respect. Several English gentlemen, who happened to be there, sent their names to him, but he refused to see any of them. It is said he is gone to Bareidge, a place in the south of France.

It is further remarkable, that on the day the Favourite left the kingdom, lord Cadogan (governor of Tilbury fort) gave a grand ball at Gravesend, to which he invited all the gentry in that neighbourhood.

From the Boston (New England) Gazette of July 4.

A Message from the Governor to the Assembly.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I Have his majesty's orders to make a requisition to you, which I communicate in the very words in which I have received it. I must desire you to take it into immediate consideration, and I assure you that your resolution thereon will have most important consequences to the province. I am myself merely ministerial in this business, having received his majesty's instruction for all I have to do in it. I heartily wish that you may see how forcible the expediency of your giving this testimonial of your duty and submission is at this time. If you should think otherwise, I must nevertheless do my duty.

FRANCIS BERNARD.

Council-chamber, June 21, 1768.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Whitehall, April 22, 1768.

—“ I gives great concern to his majesty to find that the same moderation which appeared by your letter (No. 3.) to have been adopted at the beginning of the session in a full assembly, had not continued, and that, instead of that spirit of prudence and respect to the constitution, which seemed at that time to influence the conduct of a large majority of the members, a thin house at the end of the session should have presumed to revert to, and resolve upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature as that of writing to the other colonies on the subject of their intended representations against some late acts of parliament.

His majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of parliament, and to revive those unhappy divisions and distractions which have operated so prejudicially to the true interests of Great Britain and the colonies.

After what passed in the former part of the session, and after the declared sense of so large a majority, when the house was full, his majesty cannot but consider this as a very unfair proceeding, and the resolutions taken thereupon to be contrary to the real sense of the assembly, and procured by surprize; and therefore it is the king's pleasure, that so soon as the general court is again assembled at the time prescribed by the charter, you should require of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker; and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding.

His majesty has the fullest reliance upon the affection of his good subjects in the Massachusetts-Bay, and has observed with satisfaction, that spirit of decency, and love of order, which has discovered itself in the conduct of the most considerable of its inhabitants; and therefore his majesty has the better ground to hope, that the attempts made by a desperate faction to disturb the public tranquillity, will be discountenanced, and that the execution of the measure recommended to you, will not meet with any difficulty.

Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay.

A Message

A Message from the House to the Governor, June 23, 1768.

May it please your Excellency,

THE house of representatives humbly request your excellency to lay before them a copy of his majesty's instructions referred to in your message of the 21st instant; a copy of the letter to your excellency, from the Right Hon. the earl of Hillsborough of April 22, 1768; a copy of a letter from his lordship, communicated lately by your excellency to the honourable board; and copies of letters wrote by your excellency to his lordship, relating to the subject of the aforesaid message.

A Message from the Governor to the Assembly:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I Should have communicated the whole of the earl of Hillsborough's letter relating to the business which I laid before you the 21st instant, if I had not been desirous that your compliance with his majesty's requisition might have its fullest merit, by its appearing to be entirely dictated by a sense of your duty.

But since you desire to know what my further orders are, I hereby send you a copy of the other part of the letter relative to this business, which contains all my instructions thereupon. And as I know you will not expect that I should disobey the king's positive commands, I must desire that if you shall resolve to oblige me to execute them, you will previously to your giving your final answer, prevent the inconveniences which must fall upon the people for want of the annual tax-bill, which I understand is not as yet sent up to the board. For if I am obliged to dissolve the general court, I shall not think myself at liberty to call another, till I receive his majesty's commands for that purpose, which will be too late to prevent the treasurer issuing his warrants for the whole tax granted by the act of last year.

As to the letter of the Earl of Hillsborough, which I communicated to the council, I must beg leave to be the proper judge of the time and occasion of communicating any papers I receive to the council or the house. If I had then thought it expedient to lay it before the house, I should have then done so; when I shall think it so, I shall do it.

As to your request of copies of my letters to the secretary of state, you may assure yourselves that I shall never make public my letters to his majesty's ministers, but upon my own motion, and for my own reasons.

FRANCIS BERNARD.

Council-chamber, June 24, 1768.

Remainder of Lord Hillsborough's Letter to the Governor of Massachusetts-Bay, dated April 22, 1768, relative to his Majesty's Requisition referred to in the Governor's Message of the 21st of June following.

— IF it should, and if, notwithstanding the apprehensions which may justly be entertained of the ill consequence of a continuance of this factious spirit, which seems to have influenced the resolutions of the assembly at the conclusion of the last session, the new assembly should refuse to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation; it is the king's pleasure that you should immediately dissolve them, and transmit to me, to be laid before his majesty, an

account of their proceedings thereupon, to the end that his majesty may, if he thinks fit, lay the whole matter before his parliament, that such provisions as shall be found necessary may be made to prevent, for the future, a conduct of so extraordinary and unconstitutional a nature.

As it is not his majesty's intention that a faithful discharge of your duty should operate to your own prejudice, or to the discontinuance of any necessary establishment, proper care will be taken for the support of the dignity of government. I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

HILLSBOROUGH.

A Message from the Governor to the Assembly.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IT is now a full week since I laid before you his majesty's requisition, signified by his secretary of state. I must therefore desire you to come to a resolution upon it: For I cannot admit of a much longer delay, without considering it as an answer in the negative.

Council-Chamber, June 28, 1768.

FRA. BERNARD.

A Message from the Assembly to the Governor, June 29.

May it please your Excellency,

IN answer to your excellency's message of the 28th instant, the house of representatives request, that your excellency would favour this general court with a recess; that they may consult their constituents, respecting the requisition, contained in your message of the 21st instant, in consequence of the earl of Hillsborough's letter to your excellency.

A Message from the Governor to the Assembly.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I Cannot consistently with my sense of my duty, prorogue or adjourn the general court, until I have received your answer to his majesty's requisition. I must therefore repeat my request to you to bring this matter to a conclusion.

Council-Chamber, June 29, 1768.

FRA. BERNARD.

On the 30th of June, a committee of the house reported a letter to the right honourable the earl of Hillsborough, setting forth to his lordship, the several votes and resolutions which passed in the last house of representatives, relating to the circular letter; and shewing that the whole of these matters were transacted in the height of the session, in a full house, and by a large majority. This letter was distinctly read several times; and afterwards accepted by a majority of ninety-three out of one hundred and five members present, and a fair copy was ordered to be taken for the speaker to sign and transmit to his lordship as soon as might be.

Then it was moved, that the question be put, whether the house will rescind the resolution of the last house, which gave birth to their circular letter to the several houses of representatives and burgesses of the other colonies on the continent? and passed in the negative by a division of ninety-two to seventeen.

Hereupon the committee reported an answer to the governor's messages of the 21st and 24th of June, which was accepted by a large majority, and is as follows:

A Message

A Message from the Assembly to the Governor, June 30, 1768.

May it please your Excellency,

THE house of representatives of this his majesty's antient and loyal province of the Massachusetts Bay, have with the greatest deliberation considered your messages of the 21st and 24th instant, with the several extracts from the letter of the right honourable the earl of Hillsborough, his majesty's principal secretary of state for North American affairs, dated the 22d of April last, which your excellency has thought fit to communicate. We have also received the written answer which your excellency was pleased to give to the committee of this house directed to wait on you the 29th instant, with a message humbly requesting a recess, that the members might be favoured with an opportunity to consult their constituents at this important crisis, when a direct and peremptory requisition is made of a new and strange construction, and so strenuously urged, viz. That we should immediately rescind the resolution of the last house to transmit circular letters to the other British colonies on the continent of North America, barely intimating a desire that they would join in similar dutiful and loyal petitions to our most gracious sovereign, for the redress of the grievances occasioned by sundry late acts of parliament, calculated for the sole purpose of raising a revenue in America. We have most diligently revised, not only the said resolution, but also the circular letter, written and sent in consequence thereof; and after all, they both appear to us, to be conceived in terms not only prudent and moderate in themselves, but respectful to the authority of that truly august body the parliament of Great Britain, and very dutiful and loyal with regard to his majesty's sacred person, crown and dignity; of all which we entertain sentiments of the highest reverence and most ardent affection, and should we ever depart from these sentiments, we must stand self-condemned, as unworthy the name of British subjects descended from British ancestors, intimately allied and connected in interests and inclination with our fellow-subjects the commons of Great Britain. We cannot but express our deep concern that a measure of the late house, in all respects so innocent, in most so virtuous and laudable, and as we conceive so truly patriotic, should have been represented to administration in the odious light of a party, and factious measure, and that pushed through by reverting in a thin house to, and reconsidering, what in a full assembly had been rejected. It was and is a matter of notoriety, that more than eighty members were present at the re-consideration of the vote against the application to the other colonies. The vote of re-consideration was obtained by a large majority. It is, or ought to be well known, that the presence of eighty members makes a full house; this number being just double to that, which, by the royal charter of the province, is required to constitute the third branch of our colony legislature.

Your excellency might have been very easily informed, if you was not, that the measures of the late house, in regard to sundry acts of the late parliament, for the sole purpose of raising a North American revenue, were generally carried by three to one; and we dare appeal to your excellency for the truth of this assertion, namely, that there were many persons in the majority, in all views, as respectable as the very best of the minority. Nay, so far from any sinister views

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were the committee of the late house appointed and directed to take into their most serious consideration the then present state of the province, from going into any rash or precipitate measures, that they for some days actually delayed their first report, which was a letter to Mr. agent de Berdt, on the candid and generous principle; that those who were reasonably presupposed to be most warmly attached to all your excellency's measures, especially those for furthering, and by all means enforcing the acts for levying a North American revenue, might be present, and a more equal contest ensue. It would be incredible, should any one assert, that your excellency wanted a true information of all these things, which were not done or desired to be hid in a corner, but were notoriously transacted in the open light at noon day. It is to us altogether incomprehensible that we should be required, on the peril of a dissolution of the great and general court or assembly of this province, to rescind a resolution of a former house of representatives, when 'tis evident that resolution has no existence, but as a mere historical fact.

Your excellency must know that the resolution referred to, is, to speak in the language of the common law, not now "executory," but to all intents and purposes "executed." The circular letters have been sent, and many of them have been answered: these answers are now in the public papers §; the public, the world, must and will judge of the proposal, purposes and answers. We could as well rescind those letters as the resolves, and both would be equally fruitless; if by rescinding, as the word properly imports, is meant a repeal and nullifying of the resolution referred to: but if, as is most probable, by the word "rescinding" is intended the passing a vote of this house, in direct and express disapprobation of the measure above-mentioned as "illegal, inflammatory, and tending to "promote unjustifiable combinations" against his majesty's peace, crown, and dignity, we must take the liberty to testify, and publicly to declare, that we take it to be the native, inherent, and inalienable right of the subject, jointly or severally, to petition the king for the redress of grievances; provided always, that the same be done in a decent, dutiful, loyal, and constitutional way, without tumult, disorder, or confusion. We are also humbly, but clearly and very firmly of opinion, that the petition of the late dutiful and loyal house to his majesty, and their other very orderly applications for the redress of grievances †, have had the most desirable tendencies and effects to keep mens minds in ease and quiet. We must also be excused in thinking that the people were in truth patiently waiting for the meeting of the new parliament, their measures, and his majesty's pleasure: and it is probable that they would every where have thus waited the great event, had it not been revealed here, that the late provincial applications for redress of grievances, were some how strangely obstructed, and the province, in consequence of misinformation and mis-representation, most unfortunately fallen

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§ These answers were from the provinces of Virginia, New-Jersey, Connecticut, Georgia and Maryland; wherein they concurred with the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay in a petition to the king, and other applications for a redress of grievances.

† This remarkable petition, together with the other applications alluded to, (which consist of certain letters to some great personages) are printed in a late tract entitled, *The True Sentiments of America*; which also contains several other papers worthy the reader's attention.

under the royal displeasure: and, to compleat this misfortune, it was not only divulged to the other colonies, but some of them actually received the information before it was made known here, that the house had been accused to his majesty, or his ministry, or fallen under the displeasure of the one, or the censure of the other.

On the whole, Sir, we will consider his most sacred majesty, under God, as our king, our best protector and common father; and shall ever bear him true and faithful allegiance. We also regard your excellency as the representative of the greatest potentate on earth, and at all times have, so far as could consist with the important purposes of preserving life, liberty, and property, been most ready and willing to treat you with all that respect justly due to your high rank and station. But we are constrained to say, that we are disagreeably convinced, that your excellency entertains not that parental regard for the welfare of the good people of this province, which you have some times been pleased to profess, and which they have at all times an irrefragable right to expect from their governor. Your excellency has thought fit not only to deny us a recess to consult our constituents, in regard to the present requisition, but hath assured us, in effect, that you shall take silence, at least a delay, not as usual for a consent, but for a denial. You have also thought fit to inform us, that you cannot think yourself at liberty, in case of the dissolution of this, to call another assembly, without the express orders of his majesty for that purpose: at the same time your excellency has been pleased to assure us, that you have communicated the whole of lord Hillsborough's letter, and your instructions, so far as relates to the requisition. In all this, however, we cannot find that your excellency is more than directed to dissolve the present assembly, in case of a non-compliance on the part of the house. If the votes of the house are to be controuled by the direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We know it to be the just prerogative of the crown, at pleasure, to dissolve a parliament: we are also sensible that, consistently with the great charter of this province, your excellency, when you shall think fit, with or without the intervention of a minister, can dissolve the great and general court of this colony, and that without the least obligation to convene another within the year. But should it ever grow into use, for any ill-disposed governor of the province, by means of a mistaken or wilfully wrong state of facts, to procure orders for a dissolution, the same charter will be of no value.

We take this opportunity, faithfully and firmly, to represent to your excellency, that the new revenue acts and measures, are not only disagreeable to, but in every view are deemed an insupportable burthen and grievance, with a very few exceptions, by, all the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this jurisdiction: and we beg leave, once for all, to assure your excellency, that those of this opinion are of no party or expiring faction. They have at all times been ready to devote their lives and fortunes to his majesty's service. Of loyalty, the majority could as reasonably boast as any who may happen to enjoy your excellency's smiles. Their reputation, rank, and fortune, are at least equal to those, who may have been sometimes considered as the only friends to good government; while some of the best blood of the colony, even in two houses of assembly lawfully convened

vened, and duly acting, have been openly charged with the unpardonable crime of "oppugnation against the royal authority." We have not only to inform your excellency, that this house have voted not to rescind, as required, the resolution of the last house; and that on a division on the question, there were ninety two nays and seventeen yeas. In all this we have been actuated by a conscientious, and finally, a clear and determined sense of duty to God, to our king, our country, and to our latest posterity: and we most ardently wish, and humbly pray, that in your future conduct your excellency may be influenced by the same principles.

The governor after having received the last foregoing message from the house, directed their attendance in the council chamber, and then and there gave his assent to such bills as were ready, and adjourned the great and general court to Wednesday the third day of August next.

The following are among the acts passed, viz. An act for granting the sum of thirteen hundred pounds for the support of his majesty's governor.

An act for supplying the treasury with the sum of eighteen thousand pounds.

An act for supplying the treasury with one hundred thousand pounds, to be applied for the redemption of government securities that will become due in the year of our Lord 1769.

Boston, July 11. On Monday last was published a proclamation, dated the 1st instant, for dissolving the great and general court or assembly of this province.

The Beaver sloop of war, capt. Bolew, arrived here the beginning of last week from Halifax, and anchors now between Dorchester-Neck and Castle-William, near where the Gaspee lately anchored, which has since sailed. Wednesday last came into this harbour, his majesty's armed schooners Hope, and Little Romney. The next day arrived here his majesty's ship Senegal.

Boston, June 23. We hear that the honourable the commissioners of the customs, and the other officers, who had retired on board his majesty's ship Romney, in the late disturbance, have since disembarked, and landed at Castle-William, where a board was held on Tuesday last. The collector for the port of Boston is also at the castle.

Monday last sailed the brig Nancy, capt. Brett, for London, in which went passenger, Benjamin Hallowel, jun. esq; comptroller of the customs for this port.

Boston, July 4. It is said, that at the very juncture when the governor was pleased to adjourn the great and general court, the honourable board of counsellors were consulting an humble petition to the king, upon the important affair of parliamentary taxation: and the honourable house were debating upon another petition to the same sacred person, for the removal of a great man from the high office he holds under his majesty in this province.

Boston, July 11. It is said that one of the *seventeen slaves* [meaning those members of the assembly who voted for rescinding the resolution in a former assembly] apply'd, very earnestly, to a number of coasters, bound to the southward, for a passage to Martha's vineyard: but upon their enquiring who he was, and finding him to be a slave, they refused him a passage.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is an accurate copy of a very curious paper, which ought to be preserved in your Register.

Yours, A. B.

A Memorial of several Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first Rank and Fortune, presented to the late King, in 1752.

The Memorialists represent,

THAT the education of a P. of W. is of the utmost importance to the whole nation : That it ought always to be intrusted to noblemen of the most unblemished honour, and to prelacy of the most distinguished virtue, of the most accomplished learning, and of the most unsuspected principles, with regard to government both in church and state : That the misfortunes which this nation suffered, or escaped under K. Charles I. K. Charles II. and K. James II. were owing to the bad education of those princes, who were early initiated in those maxims of arbitrary power : That, for a faction to engross the education of the P. of W. to themselves, excluding men of probity, property, and wholesome learning, is unwarrantable, dangerous, and illegal ; That to place men about a P. of W. whose principles are suspected, and whose belief in the mysteries of our faith is doubtful, has the most mischievous tendency, and ought justly to alarm the friends of their country, and of the Protestant succession : That, for ministers to support low men, who were originally improper for the high trust to which they were advanced, after complaints made of dark, suspicious, and unwarrantable methods made use of by such men, in their plan of education, and to protect and countenance such men in their insolent and unheard-of behaviour to their superiors, is a foundation for suspecting the worst designs In such ministers, and ought to make all good men apprehensive of the ambition of those ministers :—That, it being notorious that books*, inculcating the worst maxims of government, and defending the most avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the P. of W. it cannot but affect the Memorialists, when they find that the men, who had the honesty and resolution to complain of such astonishing methods of instruction, are driven away from court †, and the men who have dared to teach such doctrines, are continued in trust and favour : —That the security of this government being built upon Whig principles, and alone supported by Whig zeal :

VOL. III.

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That

* Father Orleans's Revolutions of the House of Stuart.

Ramfay's Travels of Cyrus.

† In 1752, Lord Harcourt and Dr. Hayter were dismissed, and succeeded by Lord Waldegrave and Dr. Stone.

That the establishment of the present Royal Family being settled in the timely overthrow of Queen Anne's last ministry, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs, to hear of school-masters, of very contrary principles, being thought of for preceptors; and to see none but the friends and pupils of the late lord Bolingbroke intrusted with the education of a prince, whose family that lord endeavoured, by his measures, to exclude, and by his writings to expel, from the throne of these kingdoms: That there being great reason to believe, that a noble lord has accused one of the Preceptors of Jacobitism, it is astonishing that no notice has been taken of a complaint of so high a nature; on the contrary, the accused persons continue in the same trust, without any enquiry into the grounds of the charge, or any steps taken by the accused, to purge himself of a crime of so black a dye:—That no satisfaction being given to the Governor and Preceptor, who, though a nobleman of the most unblemished honour, and a Prelate of the most unbiassed virtue, have both been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family, is derogatory to his Majesty's authority, under which they acted; is an affront to peerage; and an outrage to the dignity of the Church.

That whoever advised the refusal of an audience to the Bishop of N. who was so justly alarmed at the wrong methods which he saw taken in the education of the P. of W. is an enemy to his country, and can only mean at least, to govern by a faction, or is himself influenced by a more dangerous faction, who intend to overthrow the government, and restore the exiled and arbitrary house of Stuart. But that to have a Scotchman of the most disaffected family, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretender's first minister, consulted in the education of the P. of W. and intrusted with the most important secrets of the government, must tend to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal Family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites. — Lastly, the memorialists cannot help remarking, that three or four low, dark suspected persons are the only men whose stations are fixed and permanent; but that all the great offices, and officers, are so constantly varied and shuffled about, to the disgrace of this country, that the best affected apprehend, that there is a settled design in those low and suspected persons to infuse such jealousies, caprices, and sickleness, into the two ministers whose confidence they engross, as may render this government ridiculous and contemptible, and facilitate the resolution which the Memorialists think they have but too much reason to fear is meditating.

GOD PRESERVE THE KING.

To

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

THE dissensions among those of rank and fortune who seem to agree in nothing but combinations to divide the spoils of the nation; those confusions, and distresses, which perplex every department of administration, and have reduced us so low in the estimation of foreigners, that even the petty mercantile king of Portugal has presumed to insult us, together with that contempt of the laws which so universally prevails, are circumstances of the most alarming nature. They should excite our strictest inquiry into the cause of all these evils; they should call forth our most vigorous exertion to remove them.

It is not possible that any subject can entertain a more exquisite sense of the great merit of his present Majesty than I do, I revere his virtues, I love his person, I can discern the workings of his noble nature, his benevolence and tenderness for his minister-galled subjects, I see his goodness struggling against the outrageous unrelenting *counsels of those wretches*, who would stop the stream of *mercy*.—I wish him to be happy, to be glorious. Nay, my prejudices in favour of the honest family from which he is descended, are so strong, as almost to disarm me of apprehension, in the very midst of danger; but liberty is concerned, and all other considerations give way, for she must be guarded with the same watchful jealous eye, under a Titus as under a Nero; the virtues of a reigning prince, should not lull us into torpid security; a minister at all times ready to corrupt, and a gentry precipitated into every meanness which can debase man's noble nature, may poison the mind of the most virtuous prince; and when the mine is artfully prepared, the train laid, every thing ready for springing, it is but applying the match, at one explosion are our liberties destroyed, and nothing may remain but the painful recollection of how long we might have lived free, and happy, under the Brunswick line, had we not been scandalously wanting to ourselves.

Henry the Vth was possessed of every great and good quality which could be an ornament to royalty; he was descended from a race of heroes, whose great achievements, recent in the minds of their posterity, communicated an elevation of sentiment, which few princes in these latter ages of fraud, avarice, and intrigue, are by any means capable of feeling. If they had vices, they were the vices of kings; their passions wore the gloss of heroism to set them off, and

spread a lustre over the nations they ruled. Obstinacy in princes of no magnanimity aiming at the mark of glory, became, spirited, determined resolution, in them; and, if they had revenge in their nature, kingdoms and empires alone, were held objects worthy of their vengeance. Yet under that great house of Plantagenet, so teeming with heroes, that out of ten kings immediately preceding Henry the VIth, five were distinguished for some, or for all those great accomplishments by which monarchs become illustrious; even in the reign of Henry the VIth, crowned when an infant, king of that realm which his father had conquered, supported by the reputation of such a father, intrenched (one would imagine very securely) within the loyalty of his people, the fidelity, affection, and abilities of his uncles: Yet I say, in that very reign, and in a situation so favourable to the peace and happiness of that prince, did an *ambitious meddling woman* and a *wicked minister*, involve this country in all the horrors of civil discord. If then, in that age of simplicity, before the system of ministerial corruption was compleat, when patriots were sometimes perennial, and did not always perish during the same session in which they had sprung up; ere the royal pedant James had forged general warrants from the Almighty, for enslaving the nations of the earth; ere hireling sycophant historians had found their account in distorting truth, and endeavouring to reconcile men's minds to a legal arbitrary power, in princes, of trampling upon every thing that is legal; ere Scottish impudence had presumed to read over the name of Stuart in the catalogue of good kings, and before the *Pseudo-Martyr*, that tyrant of sullen and perfidious memory, was held up as the model for future monarch's; if I say, ere these things had taken place, on a bad administration could have produced the calamities I have mentioned, can we at this time be persuaded that a confidence in the most favourite royal family can dispense but for a moment with that attention which we owe to the peace of our country, to the preservation of the constitution?—The smallest reflection upon this important duty will suggest, that in a disordered state, the first application for a remedy must be to those with whom the laws have deposited the care of the political body: It is therefore to the commons that we must have recourse, the last did undoubtedly lay itself open to some small imputations of quackery, the present afford a pleasing hope, that they will approve themselves honest and able physicians; the people have merited their utmost service; they have generously delegated to them that power, which our law at every dissolution sends, in order to

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be cleansed of those impurities which it might have contracted by too close a ministerial intercourse, back to its original fountain; the representatives have received it in a state of vigour and unadulteration; in that state we expect that it should operate, and that the same regard to the favour of the people, by which they were actuated as candidates, shall continue to direct the representatives in their capacity of legislation. An opinion I know, has, been creeping in upon us for some time, that during a parliament, that is, during a temporary delegation of the power of the people, this power is unconditionally vested in the representative; and, that he owes no respect whatsoever to the judgment of his constituents, a doctrine no less absurd, but perhaps more fatal in consequence, than that of uncontrollable power in kings; we therefore see the most capable men of the house, lord C—re, for instance, and many others, men supposed to know, and attend to the spirit of the constitution, who know that the democratick part of our constitution does in reality form the basis of it, and that the other parts are but secondary, contributing only to convenience and ornament; we see them consulting the people upon every important occasion: For can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a man whom I have trusted but for a given time, should have a power by the difference between the monosyllable *aye*, or *no*, to ruin me and my posterity to time everlasting; and that I shall not presume to remonstrate upon what he is about to do? Is it consonant to law, natural or municipal, that a trustee without my privity, shall out of his own head make an absolute conveyance of my estate, and by one rash or dishonest act, bring ruin upon me and my family? Shall that which is but formed subservient to convenience, become through misapplication substantially destructive and pernicious? And shall I all this while look on in patient silence? Many houses of commons have, it is true, agreed to many extraordinary things, and the dutiful acquiescence of the people under these agreements, have given them almost the sanction of precedent; they have suffered the spirit of the act of settlement to evaporate, by permitting a splitting of places to the great enlargement of court-influence; they have lost sight of triennial parliaments, and reconciled as nearly as possible, the *minds of the English to the idea of standing armies: but acquiescence under grievance is no renunciation of the right of redress, when occasion shall present itself*, and the long duration of an evil is rather an argument for putting an end to it, than for giving it a further continuance; except lawyers, all will think so, I'm sure. A county chooses two gentlemen to represent them in parliament, not that

that they conceive these gentlemen to have gathered into themselves the essence of the whole knowledge and integrity of the whole county, but because in the great council of the nation, two can speak the sense of the county, when ten thousand cannot; and because such an uninterrupted and confidential intercourse is so necessarily supposed between constituent and representative, that they are considered in law as moving but by the same soul, the law will not support the least jarring, and should they materially disagree, common sense points out to which opinion the law must give the preference. Whilst therefore the representatives shall retain a becoming respect for the collective body, good humour will prevail, harmony subsist, and the ends of representation be fully answered; but should the contrary be the case, it is much to be feared, that the people may raise their voice to a didactic tone, and assume to themselves the province of instruction.

With what state convulsions the wresting of power out of those hands which have once gripped it whether justly, or unjustly, has been attended, our history abounds with instances; liberty has, however, whether from virtue or from accident, been hitherto triumphant: Nor shall the late firings upon an unarmed multitude in George's Fields, persuade me, that an English army will be guilty of the parricide of cutting off their own liberties; I should indeed fear it from a standing army of mercenary Scots; but never from an army of English. Those mercenaries who have been brought from poverty and desolation, into the fertile and happy plains, of England, who from rags or nakedness, have jumped suddenly into breeches and laced regimentals, who have luckily exchanged the pastoral staff for the espontoon or truncheon, and who from their attendance upon half starved flocks, have now the honour of commanding well fed Englishmen, sensible of obligation to their powerful countryman for this reverse of fortune, will readily prostitute both soul and body for his service, and shed without reluctance the blood of that nation, whose happiness they at all times envied, and whose glory it was their ambition to thwart; but Englishmen will never become the unlawful executioners of Englishmen, nor should the success of one horrid massacre be an encouragement to those who hope to destroy our liberties by means of an army. When Sylla wantoning in cruelty, in open defiance of the laws of his country, had resolved upon dispatching a great number of his proscribed enemies, whom he had got into his power, within hearing of the conscript fathers, at a place not farther from the Senate-house, than St. George's-fields from Westminster-Hall,

Hall, the brave legionaries refused to act; lest I should run the hazard of anachronizing, I will not say this bloody service was performed by Scotchmen, but if I recollect rightly, for I write from memory, the mercenary Cretan Archers, were the butchers upon that occasion; and Roman virtue had been long upon the decline before this event. Which proves that corruption must sink very deep into the minds of a people, before they can be prevailed upon to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent, unarmed, unresisting neighbours and countrymen.

Satisfied that the present house of Commons will never enter into a struggle for exercising a power totally independent of the opinion of those who have returned them; it is our duty to make the closest observations upon the times, and whenever we perceive the smallest speck in the Political Hemisphere, to point it out to our representatives who will disperse it ere it shall gather into a tempest; but alas, their power of doing good is clogged and embarrassed; favouritism has almost unthreaded the nerves of legislature, the rays of royal countenance, equally diffused, communicate to every part of society a genial invigorating warmth and energy; but collected into the focus of favouritism, whilst it produces the unnatural immaturities of pride, over-grown wealth, insolence and oppression in one part, chills and sterilizes thro' every other. Previous therefore to the removal of small evils, this grand evil must be necessarily removed; nor is the bare removal of his person sufficient, tho' mountains and oceans should interpose, for he will be virtually in London, whilst those wretches who have submitted to his domination shall continue in office; for my part I look upon myself entitled, as an Englishman, to judge, to censure the officers of the crown when they deserve it, and to applaud the meritorious; for I shall not say with Marcus Terentius in Tacitus—*Non est nostrum estimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas, tibi summum rerum dii dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta*; this indeed, he spoke upon a different occasion as an apology for his having ever maintained a friendship with the fallen Sejanus, whereas, I do from my soul sincerely detest the exalted earl of Bute, whom I consider as the author of every wrong step which has been taken, since that fatal hour in which he first seized upon the reigns of administration.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER,

S I R,

Having received a letter relative to an election for members to represent the greatest county in Ireland, which shews the spirit which the Octennial Law has called up in that kingdom, I shall take it as a favour that you insert it in the Political Register. Your's, &c.

Dear F—,

THE contest is now at an end, victory has declared against us; our fall however has not been inglorious, and like the old giant, we shall I hope get strength from the touch of mother Earth. Hercules, indeed, that old warrior, by not suffering Antæus to fall, by holding him a great way off the ground, that is in the modern phrase by separating him from the landed-interest of his country, did at length foil him, our Mock-Hercules has it not, we bless God, in his power to do so, to strip us of our estates. The nice canvass made upon the late happy occasion furnished by the auspicious Octennial law has made us thoroughly acquainted with the strength of our county, and a future election will shew what a well-concerted, determined, opulent association, in support of liberty shall be able to effect.

You, my dear Sir, have told me that the unnatural influence obtained by the father of the present lord Sulkey wantonly exercised in raising his creatures to insolent importance, was what drove you, several noblemen, and many others of good fortunes, lest you should be exposed to those mortifications which gentlemen often meet from wretches of the low kind, to reside in England; by which the consumption of your rents was all lost to a kingdom, the fertility of whose soil, and the labour of whose poor inhabitants did actually produce these rents; give me leave to say you have been therefore chargeable with pusillanimity and ingratitude. You fled your country and suffered a tyrant to lay without interruption the foundation of that vassalage under which we who stayed behind have long groan'd; and after all, who and what was this mighty person, but the small scarce discernible fibre of a family possessed, it is true, of a great property in the kingdom but of a new one, and acquired—the first lord of the family best knew how. For when the English adventurers during these times of blood and confusion in the reign of Q. Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, were employed in conquering the forfeited estates of the traitor Desmond, when we meet the Raleighs, the Browns, the Norris's, and other respectable persons in arms, no sword was known, to do honourable grace to the hand of any of that name, which has since insolently presumed to usurp the domination not only of our county, but of the whole kingdom——No, —they lay by and sily picked up the estates of the unfortunate, whether friends or foes, without distinction; and like those who attend upon armies with a view to plunder, grew suddenly rich without either toil or hazard——of a family, the opulent branches of which, ever since the settled state of this kingdom would admit them to draw away their rents, did spend them in that country where you seem disposed to spend yours; and left their tenants to the hungry ravage of devouring agents and receivers——You were all routed by a man of trifling property, little parts, much cunning, deep dissimulation, of courage barely problematical; He indeed once had the good fortune to *bully a blasted coward*; but in general, all his battles were fought by a few of his desperate underlings nor can I say his champions were always happily chosen; but to make up for that, he had always these headlong sons of prostitution, the clergy, to bray at his side; which they, you know, have the privilege of doing with impunity. A man who, marrying with the almost superannuated and desponding sister of his noble relation, became entitled thereby to the trust of his boroughs in this kingdom, which he afterwards most scandalously betrayed, and upon the ruin of his lordship's interest would fain have erected his own; who had the craft by falling in with the humour of the times in the reign of George the first, by drinking deep to the glorious memory, and assuming the appearance of revolution principles, to place himself at the head of the Whigs of this county, but who has since proved himself incapable of those generous sentiments which liberty inspires; for in public character he has been the spoiler of his country, and in private, the base deceiver of his confiding unsuspecting friend, whose family (and that helpless sex which it is most criminal to injure) he has robbed of their patrimony; and left exposed to poverty, distress and misery.

Such was the man who drove you, l—d S——, l—d E—— l—d B——, and many others from your native country, and so strange are still the infatuations of some people, it is to the interest of the son of such a man, that we hear many express a stupid surprize at seeing any opposition made; your

old friends Jack and Tom are perpetually asking what hurt does poor lord Sulky? Why, as to lord Sulky himself I own my compassion for him. He is pushed by his underlings to become a publick man and a politician, and is not possessed of any one necessary qualification for either, an understanding very contracted and an awkward address; his affability constrained, and mirth would, in spite of your humanity, mix itself with compassion, to see him with an affected air of familiarity taking one of his small vassals under the arm, and bending himself to a display of condescension and humility, so unnaturally does he attempt the part! If mites could avail themselves of the example of the Elephant, I would advise his lordship in imitation of Richard, the son of the usurper, to retire prudently from that station which he is not able to maintain. The coalition formed by his father will not do, for altho' two good heads are allowed to be better than one, yet two block-heads are known to do more mischief than one, and to confound one the other. We are determined to be free, nor is his late success owing to the real strength of his party. It was the last convulsion of the expiring influence of his father, like the motion of the sea which continues for some time after the storm is over. Many gentlemen are now discharged of their engagements, and will never hereafter join with an interest which is the principal obstruction of those blessings we hope to derive from the Octennial Law, that law for which we are most thankful to our gracious Sovereign. As to our lord lieutenant, to whom the drunken part of our nation bestows so much credit on that score, I shall say nothing, until his administration is closed; if it turns out to be of a piece with the Octennial Law, then shall I believe that he really counselled and advised it, if not, you may expect a very particular detail of his conduct. I very well know the little dignity of character which the men you send over to rule here usually maintain at home, and I am determined, unless facts shall support them, so far as lies in my power, to hinder them from pilfering any reputation from this poor harrassed country. Be assured, my dear Sir, that my motives for troubling you with this letter are truly laudable. I wish to draw you over where your presence will strengthen the cause of Liberty; I wish to remove that despair of ever seeing this island do well, which had once seized you; I wish to see you share the glory of unshackling your fellow subjects. England is at last ashamed of supporting the scoundrel junto, and you may be assured that the day is come when the generous toils of an Irish Patriot shall meet

meet their desired reward, I mean the happiness of seeing them crowned with success.

I am,

Your affectionate, &c.

TO THE EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

There was lately published a pamphlet entitled, “ Thoughts
“ on the Causes and Consequences of the present high
“ Price of Provisions,” upon which I have made some
OBSERVATIONS, and have added a few further Thoughts;
together, with an attempt to shew how the price may be
rendered more moderate for the future; all which are at
your service.

I am, Sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

A Country GENTLEMAN.

THE author of the thoughts, &c. sets out with an opinion that the high price of provisions and all the necessaries of life, is an evil; undoubtedly it is so, and one of the worst evils that attend this nation; but it cannot be immediately cured, no more than the ablest physician can immediately cure a man of a violent fever. A little time may do much towards it, and if it is not incurable, a little more time with honest endeavours, will most certainly overcome it; but I beg leave to say, that I think, (contrary to the opinion of that author) the allowing general importations of provisions is not the way to cure such an evil, but has a contrary tendency.

There is but one way to make a lasting plenty of provisions, and that plenty only will make them cheap; that cheapness will promote commerce, commerce promote society, and society promote a multiplication of people: That multiplication is the greatest riches any trading kingdom can have; but a short temporary plenty, or cheapness, by general importations, can only draw the skin over the wound:

It will soon break out again, and be more sore and difficult to cure than it was at first.

The encouragement of agriculture will make plenty and cheapness; the discouragement, scarcity and dearth.

To allow an importation of foreign provisions, is encouraging foreign agriculture and discouraging our own; for the farmer will not labour and disburse his money, when he sees the public are endeavouring to depreciate his commodities; therefore, notwithstanding the great quantity imported, I apprehend in two or three years time, there will be no more in the kingdom than if none had been imported, but much less; and I think, that if we had imported none and paid more for our own produce this year, we should have superabounded with them in the next, consequently, saved our money, not encouraged foreign agriculture, and been able to bring home money by the exportation of our overplus: but if foreign provisions shall for any length of time be admitted here, I shall fully expect to see the prices much higher than they have ever been yet.

In such a trading kingdom as this is, provisions are and ought to be as much a trading commodity as any other thing whatever, within the kingdom; also for exportation when there is an overplus. For freedom to buy and sell at pleasure is the life of trade, and a very great promoter of plenty. Trade may be compared to a moving machine, the more clogs and burthens that are added to it, the slower it will move, with any certain force: on the contrary, without any clog or burthen, it will move with the utmost velocity it is capable to do.

As to the frequent dictate in News-paper letters and chance conversations, that "Provisions should be prized and sold by certain rules." It is so opposite to any sort of reasonable argument, and so contradictory to our general experience as a trading people, that I think I may with much propriety dictate the contrary, and say, That it is not in the power of the legislature, if it acts for the benefit of the nation, to have provisions prized and sold by certain rules; therefore they ought not to attempt it, and I suppose, will not. They may as well set a price upon shoes and stockings, and all sorts of clothing; which I understand to be some of the sorts of necessary provisions, though I believe most people don't look upon them in that light.

It does not appear to me, that provisions and all the necessities of life have increased in price more than any other things: if not, their present price is not exorbitant; but they have

~~have~~ nearly kept their rank in price with all other things. When I speak of the necessaries of life, I mean to speak of such only as are absolutely necessary; such as victuals and drink, clothes and lodging: These, I say, rank nearly in price with all other things, and the poor, if they are industrious, may purchase a sufficiency of them, and to those poor and impotent who are not able, the law has sufficiently provided for them, and if they don't obtain a sufficiency, the parish officers, not the legislature, ought to be blamed.

To the evil before-mentioned, the word SCARCITY is often added, and frequently turned over and over in all conversations upon the subject, but such a scarcity has never appeared; on the contrary, there has always been a sufficiency at a price, and provisions might have been, and may now be at a lower price than they are in some parts of the kingdom, could the dealers in that commodity be assured of safety in transferring their property from one part to another.

About ten or eleven years ago, bread corn sold at a higher price all over the kingdom, than it has done lately, and yet tumults and disorder were not so frequent then as now, which shows that the populace grow ripe more for mischief. No wonder that they do so, considering what examples in luxury set them by their superiors, in which no power on earth can hinder them of a share; that luxury brings them to poverty, and poverty makes them tumultuous and desperate.

If, upon mature consideration, the public shall differ with me in opinion, and persuade themselves that provisions are scarce and at an exorbitant price, I hope they will consider too, that all sorts of tumults, riots and disorders, will infallibly make them both more scarce and more dear, and that we may import provisions until we shall have no money left in the kingdom to pay for them. I am afraid we have not so much now as we are supposed to have. In page 3, the author gives it as his opinion, that the present price of provisions arises from the increase of our national debt, but not as to the riches; for the debt is a thing certain, but the riches are only comparative and uncertain: Instead of riches I would say, paper credit, the shadow of riches.

The debt of the nation and the riches of individuals (I suppose he means individuals by applying the word *our*) as I apprehend, are in no wise related to each other; for the former is a mere impulse of state by the use of paper, with regard only to the internal concerns of the kingdom; the latter is a term relative to individuals only, and signifies money. The riches of a nation consist in the number, strength, and
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wisdom of its inhabitants; the riches of individuals consist in money, and such things as will produce money, as well abroad as at home; therefore the price of provisions cannot be owing to our national riches, not having much connection with them; nor, I believe, to the riches of individuals, for they don't appear. But the price of provisions may be owing, in part to the national debt, and will continue to be so as long as paper shall have the effect of specie.

Indeed, paper money is now become almost general in the metropolis, and seems to be, not only one cause of the dearth of provisions, but a cause of the dearth of every thing else.

Now, suppose paper credit should fail, where will be the debt?—why? where it is now,—in idea only; but then those who in idea may be worth twenty thousand pounds to-day, may not be worth any thing to-morrow. For this reason it is necessary to support paper credit for the sake of public justice, but surely it ought not to be increased.

It is the general opinion, that the national debt will be the ruin of the nation; I make no doubt but it will, unless our state physicians shall be pleased to alter their practice: it is not too late for them yet to do so. Parliament is not obliged to increase the national debt as it has hitherto done. In this time of peace it has a good opportunity of lessening it, and if it was to go heartily about it, it would be much lessened in a few years. It seems to me, that the price of luxury in this town would soon pay off a great part of it. In consequence of that, the town would, in a few years, be reduced to a moderate number of superfluous people, and make room for great improvements in manufactures and laudable commerce, and put a stop to that bane of the country, and (in part) cause of the increased price of provisions, the great flow of country people into the metropolis. It is now a general complaint all over the kingdom, that hands are wanted for the farmer's use, and such want has greatly increased the price of country labour, and that has added to the price of provisions. It is said, that the increase of taxes, the chief method by which I should propose to decrease the national debt, must increase the price of every thing. This, I suppose, is meant in a general way; but surely taxes upon luxuries only, would soon stop the great flow of people into the metropolis, consequently decrease the price of necessaries, by staying them in the country for the use of husbandry; and as to all other things, articles of foreign trade excepted,
the

the price of them are beneath the notice of a wise legislature.

In fine, our present dealings at home are like those of a set of sharpers at cards, each shuffling and cutting for his own advantage, and striving to ruin the rest of the company, until at last, he that holds out the longest, finds himself tricked as well as the rest, though in a less degree, the last stake remaining with him, and that all the money is shuffled away in expences, and probably transported into another part of the world; else, what is become of our current silver coin? a commodity now extremely scarce and much wanted!

Page 10. The author says, "twenty rich families will consume ten times as much bread, meat, butter, &c. as twenty poor families of the same number." I must own I have no conception of this, and think that twenty poor families of the same number, were they fed as they ought to be, would consume more bread and meat, (the greatest necessities) than twenty rich families. This seems to hold good with all animals: those who work and take most pains, require the most keeping. Surely a fat horse, that does little or no work, cannot consume so much corn and hay as a lean horse that works daily. As to meat, I believe each person in a rich family eats some number of times more than each person in a poor family; but then each person in a poor family, eats more bread than each person in a rich one: I mean to speak here of the country only, and not of the metropolis, where working people can afford to eat meat in plenty, and I dare say, eat more than rich people: and I have often lamented that country people cannot do the same, for it is very observable, that their work is according to their food. The man who eats beef and mutton, and drinks his two quarts of ale every day, will do twice the work in a day, as he can do, who lives upon bread and ordinary cheese, and drinks nothing but water.

As to the great consumption of provisions in general, no harm, but good can accrue from thence: for this kingdom is very able, and always ready to maintain an infinite number of more people than what are now in it; and as a manufacturing kingdom, the better they are maintained, the more spirit and strength will they have to do their work, and in general, the better they will do it.

I will say nothing about forestallers, regrators, post chaises, and some other things much complained of by the ignorant and unthinking, for they deserve no answer; but with regard to great corn dealers, and the enlarging of farms, I look upon

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on them to be very beneficial to the public; for if corn was not laid by in great quantities, the public would not be so well served as it is. The small dealers now know where to get it when they want, and the great dealers take it from the farmers, as it suits them to thresh out and carry it to market. The enlarging of farms, is suitable to the substantial and understanding farmer, and such a one is capable of producing more from any given quantity of the same land, than is possible for the small farmer to do, who, generally, is both ignorant and poor.

The author is pleased to say, as I understand him, that "it is the cheapness of money" (rather of paper credit) "and not the dearness of provisions as is complained of, and that from thence, those who live upon settled stipends must inevitably be ruined, and traders of all kinds will be benefited, and the labourer and land-owner grievously oppressed." These positions seem to be true, and easily proved, if the word PAPER instead of the word MONEY, may be admitted. For it is plain to all observers, that in these days, the merchants, and even a very great number of various sorts of tradesmen, many of them of very low life and education, spend annually as much as gentlemen can afford to do, who have landed properties from one to three and four thousand pounds a year; but this is by the use of paper credit, a tool, which persons having only fixed stipends to live upon, and labourers and land-owners, cannot often make use of. It is true too, that the rents of lands and price of labour, are much risen; but that is of late only: so that the labourer and land-owner have long been under an oppression; the former in a small degree only, for the price of his labour will always rise almost immediately with the price of provisions, but the latter cannot make his rents keep pace with it; for when his land is set upon lease, he can make no make no alteration until that lease is expired. However, if country gentlemen will be idle, and come to this town, and enter into and promote its luxuries, spending as much in three months, as will maintain their family in the country the other nine, it is no matter to the public if traders buy out their estates. Perhaps traders may inculcate more industry, and parsimony, and retard the growing luxury in the country, for such there is, in so much that it is thought, in some counties, the farmers drink more punch than ale, and their wives more tea than small beer, to the great discouragement of the land's produce, and, I believe, to the detriment of their health, for those two liquors in the country are generally of the worst sort.

Page 23. The author seems to propose a method of cure for the national debt, by taking superabundant wealth from individuals, and therewith discharging the debt, but says, that "Justice, liberty and law, would obstruct with insurmountable difficulties." I do not see any force in this argument, for the same may be made use of against laying any tax whatever: If gentlemens consciences are so very nice as to run into excessive refinements upon justice, law and liberty, I am sure we shall soon have neither the one or the other left; but we have already many taxes, that draw much money from those who superabound in it, and yet I hear of no complaints against them.

Suppose now a tax of 2 s. was to be laid upon every play-house ticket in London, and 1 s. for the same in the country, or 6 l. additional tax upon every four wheel carriage, and in the same proportion on two wheel carriages, or one per cent. upon the value of every new built house in the metropolis; would not that take from those only who superabound in money? For certainly there are no persons but might amuse themselves, and often to some advantage without going to a play-house; and very few in small circumstances, who can not live sufficiently well without keeping a carriage; and no one ought to build a new house in the metropolis, at this time, unless he superabounds in money. A great number of other things might be mentioned, equally taxable, and as harmless to the public; but as I mean to write briefly, I shall dwell no more upon this head, than that if parliament would set heartily about it, they may lay such taxes upon the rich, as would soon lower the national debt, and otherwise rather serve than hurt the public: But at the same time I must premise, that these taxes be levied with some other old ones, without any additional expence, and that they be kept inviolate, and applied to no use whatever, but that of reducing the national debt.

I shall now endeavour to shew how provisions may be rendered more moderate for the future.

I have already said that encouragement of agriculture will make plenty, and plenty make cheapness; this I believe every one will agree to; but the way to that encouragement is little known, seldom talked of, and very rarely touched upon by any of the late writers upon the price of provisions.

As the best and surest way to cure the diseased natural body, is first to remove all sorts of clogs, oppressions and obstructions, under any of which the body will often remain imperfect, so in the political body, often laden with infirmities, we must take the same method.

With regard to agriculture, a first principle to be attended to, towards the prosperity of a trading nation, and the fine quanon of plenty of provisions; it has been under such a weight and depression by tithe laws, that I am amazed how this nation has been able to thrive under them: It must be allowed to have done so by very slow degrees, and that it now seems to be unable to bear such burthens any longer.

I am very clear that the laws of tithes have ever been, and still are a great weight and depression to agriculture, and an obstacle to a plenty of provisions, and am thoroughly convinced, that if they were all entirely abolished, we should soon see a much greater plenty of corn and cattle, than has ever been in this kingdom before. No gentleman need be ashamed to amuse himself with improving his lands, and with a little attention he might make a fair interest upon his money by it. As matters now stand, in every country village, when tithes are paid in kind, and being an open field town, tithes, together with a small glebe generally attending them, amount to one fifth part of the rental of the whole parish. What an immense load is this upon agriculture in its first stage? which above all things in a trading kingdom, ought to bear the least burthen. This is an effectual barr against all lasting improvements, for if the farmer or land-owner was to attempt improvement by force of money, and no lasting improvements can be made without money, it would make a certain and immediate accumulation to the tithe, but be very uncertain whether any advantage would in the end accrue to him. Perhaps he might never be reimbursed; for every year's tithe is a multiplication of tithe; that is, it tithes a part of what was tithed the year before; such as seed, corn, lambs, &c.

There are many thousand acres of land in this kingdom of little or no use, which by drainage and cultivation may be made prolific; but the process is too long for a farmer or land-owner to undertake, while he pays a tithe in kind. He can expect no profit in a less time than three or four years, and few farmers or land-owners can wait so long, it being particularly incident to business, that the transactor, more especially if he advances his money, should make a profit within the year, for the support of his family; so that neither of those persons dare undertake it, (no other can) because the tithe like the clogged dice at a hazard table, are continually set against them.

It may be objected that an abolition of laws which have been in force for many ages, and which will affect a great part

part of the public, will be a business very difficult to be got through: To this I answer that a resolute and industrious legislature, can make all seeming difficulties easy; and I am very positive, that unless it interposes and sets agriculture free, provisions in this kingdom, will always be dearer than they ought to be.

As I have proposed to take away so great a part of the ecclesiastical revenue, and the private property of many lay-impropriators, I desire the reader to understand, that I do not in the least mean to lessen their subsistence, or rank among the rest of the public, for it will always be in the power of the parliament to make them ample amends, and I have not the least doubt of their doing so, nay, even of putting the clergy upon a more respectable footing than they are now, or ever will be, under the present tithe laws; but if they shall think otherwise, I must say, that those who will not trust the legislature, deserve not to have its protection.

It is not conceivable without looking very far forward, what numerous benefits would arise to the nation from this abolition of tithe laws, by giving an unlimited freedom to agriculture: I sincerely believe they would be such as are not to be exceeded or even paralleled by any other contrivance. This is perfectly adapted to the nature of the British people, and to their trade in general; for provisions cannot be made plentiful and cheap without a disburthened freedom in agriculture; trade cannot increase and be prosperous without a plenty and cheapness of provisions, and it is impossible for this nation, without a prosperous trade, to defend itself long against the tyranny of some neighbouring nation, when it shall see us brought low, and a proper object for its conquest.

What I have here said, I mean only as hints or outlines for some better pen, which I hope will soon take up the subject, a subject very necessary to be well canvassed at this time, and such as deserves the assistance of the best of heads, and the best of hearts.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

As it seems to be the business of your *Register* to expose to the indignation of your readers, every species of tyranny and oppression, whether of a public or private nature; you may not perhaps think the enclosed letter altogether unworthy of your notice. It is the genuine production of an injured Female, who has felt all *the insolence of office*, and been persecuted with worse *than Star-chamber malice and fury*. It is animated with a pure spirit of liberty; and breathes an honest indignation against *general warrants*, and the exercise of cruel and tyrannical laws, that are abhorrent to the freedom and mildness of our excellent constitution.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

LIBERTAS OXONIENSIS,

S I R,

I AM informed that you and Mr. S——, have taken the trouble to visit Woodstock, on my account and have been very particular in your enquiries, which I think extremely unnecessary, as you could expect to hear nothing more than the old story, viz. that I was visited by gentlemen, which is a truth I never attempted to deny. Perhaps, sir, you don't know that I am entitled to the company of gentlemen, and that I never did, nor ever will keep any other company of the male kind, but that of gentlemen. If you are ignorant of these things it is very proper that I should inform you. You will perceive that your proofs of visitors to me are quite needless, and as to other proofs (of which you vainly boasted to Mr. M——) I set you and your whole armada at defiance; not that I despair of finding people in canonicals capable of bribery and corruption now, any more than on a former occasion.

I am very sorry to accuse a clergyman of telling an untruth, but I know not what politer term to give your account to our mayor; you told him that I hide myself when I go to Oxford, that you had searched for me but never could find me: For shame, Mr. A—y, how will this sound at Oxford, where it is well known that I always appeared in the most conspicuous manner? It is very well known that I have been at the King's-arms, three, four days together—appeared constantly in the parlour—at the window—walked about the streets—and went in and out of town

town in the most public manner. You can't surely have the assurance to say, that you ever came to ask after me; is it not very well known that I was at Stevens's lecture? went from that to the inn, supped, slept, and stayed there till the next evening? Why did not you come to me then? I was capable of answering your interrogations, and should scorn to hide myself from any, even my greatest enemy. And pray who are you that I should be afraid of you? You are an arbitrary monarch over schoolboys and vagabond women. Your mighty power don't reach me, who am as well born and as well bred, (allowing for the disadvantages of a female education) as yourself, I can't help laughing at the number of great and learned men at Oxford, who are incessantly puzzling their pates for ways to conquer poor little me. On hearing all this stir, a stranger to me must suppose I was something more than woman, some supernatural being; no one common woman could be supposed of such vast consequence to this great and learned body of people. It is a pity methinks their attention is not a little more diverted from one subject, by a proper vigilance where there is more real danger. Pray why don't your great zeal for the healths and morals of your pupils, take you to Nettle-bed? There perhaps you may stretch your power, and strike a dreadful awe with the tremendous name of proctor; there you may find something in the form of females more attractive to Oxford than I am; something exactly suited to the meridian of Oxonian taste. I really think you all have some obligations to me for endeavouring to polish the manners of your young gentlemen, and reconciling them a little to the conversation of a decent well-bred woman; a character little known to them during their time at Oxford, which I believe to be the chief source of ruin and disgrace to many of them and their families. They visit me some of them, 'tis true, and more of them than I wish for, thanks to my little friend the P——n of B——, who set me on the wings of fame, but for very little more than to say they had seen me, and to look at me as at any other such strange phenomenon. This palpable neglect of your real duty in one part of Oxfordshire, almost tempts me to a quotation from the daily prayer, "He has left undone those things, &c. &c. &c. And I am sorry, sir, you have provoked me to this freedom; it was what I did not expect, as I always took the greatest care not to give offence at Oxford, by any action that might be looked upon as an outrage to, or disregard of your rules; not from any motive of fear I assure you, I am a stranger to that impulse, and nothing less than the reproaches of my own heart could make me
for

for one instant a coward; all the powers of your university cannot, shall not, intimidate me for one moment, though a woman, whilst I am pleased with the rectitude of my own actions, and convinced of the baseness of your unwarrantable proceedings. You have taken a trip to Woodstock to propagate a malicious falsehood, and prejudice my neighbours against me, but it will never succeed. Mr. A——, I assure you, you'll find to your confusion, that I can produce as good a character now as when at B——n, tho' the devil and the P—— joined to traduce me. What infinite obligations I have to the C——! They left no villainy unpractised to scandalise and expose me, and then persecute me for the natural consequence of distinguishing me. Is it possible that I live in a protestant country? that you are all protestant clergymen? No,—it can't be,—this spirit of persecution, tyranny and oppression, favours too much of popery, and I really believe you to be all rank papists in your hearts, and that you would make excellent officers of an inquisition. It is something odd that I should always be persecuted by the worthy members of C—— C——. The pretty little P——n of B—— is of C—— C——, and makes such a respectable figure in history, that it's no wonder another member of C—— C—— should be fired with emulation, at so great, so glorious an example; and I think Mr. A——, cannot close his memorable reign with greater eclat, than by one great effort to conquer me, and join his name to that of the inimitable P—— of B——, who has hitherto been looked upon as an original, and will have no objection to be kept in countenance by so desirable an auxiliary. You informed my neighbour that your last lawsuit was ill conducted (that of L——) which I readily allow you, and so I believe will any other that you conduct against me. You say that the V. C. will take me in hand—Bid him beware of burning his fingers. Here I am, ready to answer his mandate. Tell him he need not send a warrant—I will attend him on the receipt of a card. I have overlooked one *illegal warrant*; as I really believe the person who granted it was imposed upon, and I don't inherit one popish principle. I have just heard, you boast of proofs against me of receiving men all hours of the night; surely Mr. A—— if you believe this you think me a great idiot—nay I must be stupid to the last degree to practise so little decorum in such a neighbourhood as mine—to give my Oxford friends (who are constantly on the watch to gratify their spirit of revenge, by taking advantage of one false step) any handle by an imprudent conduct—no—I have all my wits about me, I promise you.—But perhaps
you

you begin to fear I may be forgot at Oxford—and you kindly want to bring me once more into fashion—well so be it—If I must be popular, even begin and give me a second opportunity to perpetuate my memory, and to celebrate the name of

Your most obedient servant,

M—— H——

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Christ-Church, Great Tom, and Great Tom of Christ-Church.

Magna licet componere magnis——

Q UOTH Ralph, who loves his joke,
Drolling to Peter,
(Comparison more just, who ever spoke
In metre?)
Yon lofty dome,
Where elegance and grandeur strike the eye
With beauty, strength and harmony,
Is tenanted by Tom*—
Come Dennis, slipshoed muse inform us,
How this exalted post he gain'd,
This size enormous,
How attain'd
Thro' various plastic moulds, in due gradation
His ductile metal flow'd in glittering stream,
Pass'd, strange to tell, thro' many a transformation.
Like rod of Moses,
Chang'd oft as he could wish who broach'd the dream,
Metempsychosis.
Once in war's rude alarms he bore a share,
Rolling his thunders o'er th' affrighted plain
Thro' quivering air,
Yet like the peaceful train
Of city-knights, this all his art of war,
Employ'd to noble use,
For 'twas his care,
To swell processions and announce good news.
Soon from terrific gun
Reduc'd to his first fluid mass,
He rises now a bell huge and sonorous,
Drowns
* *Thomas Clusius*, the great bell of Christ Church.

Drowns with his din the heroes of the glaſs,
 Fellows of higheſt fun,
 All in full chorus.

To Chriſt Church he was brought thus form'd anew,
 Chriſt Church, a magazine of ſcience,
 Where, if fickle fame ſay true,
 On whoſe reports I place but ſmall reliance,
 Each ſtudent muſt become an humble ſuitor
 For one poor annual lecture from his tutor.

Suſpended there aloof,
 We hear Tom's pious call,
 Shaking the roof,
 He tolls the drouſy canon to his ſtall.
 Abroad th' intoxicating toaſt goes round
 Of Celia, ſportive laſs,
 Or bouncing Nan,
 With pun and quaint conundrum crown'd
 Briſkly circulates the glaſs,
 Or foamy can :

When lo! by mighty Tom, the ſignal given,
 Recalls their long forgotten cares,
 Sends every thought to heaven,
 And warns the Maudlin ſtudent home to prayers.
 This ſketch of Tom I leave thee to apply
 To——— }

That one huge uniform abſurdity :
 But, Peter, have a care,
 Soft and fair,
 Mention no hallow'd name ;
 The whole ſuppoſe,
 Under the roſe,
 A dream.

Alas ! I wiſh it were a phantaſy,
 A whim-begotten bantling of the brain,
 Stranger to all reality,
 And ſo wiſh hundreds more,
 But wiſh in vain :
 Well, like the pliant ore,
 He was a Jack of many a trade,
 A cracking, bouncing hero of the blade*,
 Could ſcare the watch and bilk a whore,
 But when war's real voice was heard,
 And virtue's pulse beat high for fame,
 He by his beard
 Swore ſtoutly 'twas a ſhame,

And

* The late D—— was in the army.

And what a figure should he cut in flory,
 To mix with such a rabble-rout,
 Who fought for plunder, not for glory,
 And so indignantly sold out ?
 The murd'rous scenes of war and cruelty,
 No mortal hated half so much as he,
 From these he welcom'd his release
 With hypocritic cant, and downcast eyes,
 He then applies,
 For leave to serve the *Prince of Peace*.
 This maxim, sir, he did not want to know,
 If for a son you've got
 One that can scarce repeat his criss-cross-row,
 A stupid blockhead, or abandon'd sot ;
 He'll do to carry the religious farce on,
 Has he grimace ?
 Size to ace,
 He'll make a special parson.
 Impossible, alike 'tis to explain,
 The various springs that move the human will,
 That make men humble, proud, capricious, vain ;
 As to discover, why in room of skill,
 Of right sound judgment, and an honest soul,
 A vote, a pretty cousin, a smooth tongue
 Well taught in adulating phrase to roll,
 To gild o'er falsehood, and make right of wrong,
 Why these prevail, why, with quick wing should
 glide,
 Honours to such, from all that's *good* and *great* ;
 Which in old time *right* reverend implied,
 While piety now starves at my lord's gate ?
 To leave these paradoxes to the wife,
 View now our hero made a dignitary,
 Mutt'ring in solemn form, and priestly guise,
 A Paternoster or an Ave Mary.
 But when by *usual methods* he attain'd
 The ruler's chair (by court-intrigue I mean)
 His flaming zeal for truth and virtue feign'd,
 Vanish'd at once, and then outshone the d——.
 Pride for his equals, meanness for the great,
 Contempt for all beneath him was his rule,
 Learning he laughed at, honour held a cheat,
 Virtue grimace, and honesty a tool.
 More ignorance he, than ever Goth could boast,
 More impudence than modern infidel,
 Like him to teach was what he fancied most,
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As he like him, was qualified so well.
And when to shew his part forsooth, so long
He roars his senseless jargon in the ear,
Poor orthodoxy blushes for his tongue,
Left chance some scoffing nonconformist hear,
And thus exclaim, " This, this a priest, a D—— ?
" Well manag'd church which such a one employs !
" Here the resemblance of yon bell is seen,
" Huge bulk, like Tom, with emptiness and noise."

Christ-Church, *Oxford*—

RALPH SCUDAMORE

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

E P I G R A M.

W——f——d, or, The New Teacher.

Humbly inscribed to the Followers of that New Reformer.

TO the ignorant croud, thus a Methodist rav'd,
" First deserve to be damn'd e'er you hope to be sav'd,
" The great purpose of heaven small sins may defeat,
" 'Tis the weight of your crimes, makes the mercy complete;
" And the pow'r of your master, more amply is shewn,
" When the devil has mark'd every man as his own.

But this quack in religion, appears to have stole,
From a quack of the body, a hint for the soul;
The great Misfaubin, thus (once fam'd for his skill)
'Till the p—x was confirm'd, would refuse you his pill.

Your's,

ALIQUIS.

The Trial of Samuel Gillam, Esq; at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of William Redburn, who was killed in St. George's Fields on the 10th of May, 1768.

John Taylor. I live in High-street, Mile-end, New-town, I am a journeyman weaver, William Redburn was the same; he lived in High-street, I lived next door but one to him; he and I went home about two o'clock in the afternoon, on Tuesday the 10th of May, we were going to Westminster, we went over London-bridge through St. George's fields. It might want about a quarter of three o'clock when we got there; the horse guards were just come; they were clearing the people out of the fields, for that reason we staid. We stopped in the causeway towards the Haymarket, I believe fifty yards or better from the soldiers when they fired. The King's-bench prison I believe may be about an hundred yards more. We might be from the foot soldiers about fifty yards. The horse were mixed; they had been in and cleared the people out of the fields. We stopped about five or six minutes, and in that time there were two or three foot soldiers fired. I saw no rioting, and nothing done in the time I stood there. I was not there above five or six minutes before the firing was. We did not continue there in the whole above five or six minutes. When two or three of the soldiers fired off, Redburn said to me, Taylor, let us go; we came out of the causeway into the road, our backs were towards the soldiers. We turned our backs, and in that time he received a ball. I cannot say the exact time when he received it, because a great many people were running; when he stopped he told me he was wounded; I looked down, and saw the blood upon his stocking: he was wounded in the hind part of the thigh; it was at the time he was running I believe, but I cannot justly say, I did not know it till the time he stopped; I had not power to help him along, though a great many did; he went to a surgeon in Blackman-street. The surgeon probed the wound, it went in behind and came out before; I was told the ball was found in his breeches, but I did not see it. There was a great concourse of people; they were standing, looking on, I saw nothing else. I cannot say I saw Mr. Gillam. I was looking at the soldiers and the mob. I did not see any thing at all between the soldiers and the mob previous to the firing. I did not see the mob do any thing, I did not see any body make any disturbance during the whole time I was there; it was but a short time I was there.

Cross examined. What number of people might be there I cannot tell; there was a vast number. Before we set out I did hear there was a mobbing. I was at home when I heard it. We went that way for a walk, we did not mean to stop. All was very quiet while I was there.

Richard Nicholl. I am a rope-maker by business, and a constable of St. George the Martyr; I was posted at the King's-bench prison the 10th of May, I came there at half an hour past two in the afternoon. I was posted near the door, near Mr. Gillam. I

was there between two and three, but that was not the first time I came. I came first between ten and eleven. I was walking about. There was a vast quantity of people, a thousand or more for what I know. The soldiers, when I first came, were up against the King's-bench, they were foot soldiers. The horse came about two in the afternoon. When I first came down before the King's-bench I went nigh the brick wall; Mr. Ponton said, there was a paper stuck up against the prison wall, he desired the paper might be taken down; Mr. Latham the constable took it down; soon after the people cried out, "Give us the paper," and throwed stones at us. This was between eleven and twelve, as nigh as I can guess. At the justices and constables, as they went towards the marshal's house, this throwing of stones continued, from the time of the taking down the paper till they got to the marshal's house; the justices and constables went in there for soldiers, as I believe; after they had got into the house the people kept on throwing stones, I stood at the door, the people kept throwing stones very much, some of the stones passed me as I stood on the step, and went in at the door, as the door stood open. The throwing of stones might continue about four or five minutes. Windows were not broke at that time, I did not see any, they just went through; there is a way through the house, and there was a guard of soldiers, they came from behind the house, and the guard of soldiers came after them; they came from behind round to the front of the house. There were three justices there I believe, Mr. Ponton, Mr. Gillam, and another, I do not know the other indeed; when they came round the house, the people began to halloo, and cry out for the paper, and kept throwing of stones till the justices came round again from behind the house, and after that they threw stones again; upon that Mr. Gillam, Mr. Ponton, and the other gentleman, drew up to read the Riot-Act, and while they were reading it, or were going to read it, the mob of people heaved stones at the justices; I saw one stone cut a serjeant's lip, and another struck Mr. Ponton upon the breast. Mr. Gillam was endeavouring to read the Riot-Act; after that they came from there, and marched the soldiers half way down the brick wall. I cannot say I did hear him read the Riot-Act; there they halted; there was a man hallooing out, *Wilkes and liberty for ever!* He was in the field facing the brick wall, about five yards from it; upon that I was ordered to take hold of him. I believe it was Mr. Ponton's voice ordered me, it was one of the justices; I went towards the man; getting within ten yards of him I saw him run, I looked over my left hand, and saw an officer and some soldiers running after him; I saw them as far as the Haymarket, then I lost sight of him; that is all I know of that part, this was near twelve o'clock. About one I was standing near the road, where were some soldiers posted; the people behaved very riotous, they throwed stones at the soldiers, so that the soldiers could not keep their posts for them; Mr. Gillam was there, he begged of the people to disperse and go about their business, he told them the Riot-Act had been read; some people there said,

"D—

"D—n you, we do not believe the Riot-Act has been read." Mr. Gillam said, "If I thought that would appease you I would read it again." Upon that he took a pocket-book out of his pocket, and called out silence, and read it again, I heard him read it; the people came round about him, they were pretty silent at that time, and afterwards he begged of them again to disperse. This was about three or fourcore yards from the prison door, about forty yards from the wall, this was about one o'clock. In talking to them and reading the Act might be about half an hour. There might be eight or nine hundred round him for what I know, there was a vast many. No cry in particular that I know of among the mob except the men crying out, "D—n you, we will not believe you." Between two and three o'clock, as I was standing by the King's-bench, Mr. Gillam said to me, "Constable, go with me." I went with him to the soldiers, they were posted near a road; when we got there he begged of the people to disperse, he told them the Riot-Act had been read, and they were every soul liable of being taken up; while he was begging of them to disperse they threw stones at the soldiers, Mr. Gillam, and me, as we stood altogether; Mr. Gillam said, then, for God's sake, good people, go away, if I see any more stones throwed I will order the guards to fire; while he was so saying a stone came and hit him over the head, about the temple, it caused him to reel three or four yards backwards; and when he recovered himself, or soon after, I heard him say, "Fire." The soldiers were then in two rows, they fell back a few paces into four rows, and then fired. I do not know whether there were four or six in front; after they had fired the horse rode down and fired, some of them were at the further part of the field, they came riding up to the same place where the foot had fired. The Riot-Act had been read above an hour the second time; it was above an hour and a half after the second time, as near as I can guess. I heard no order for the horse to fire; after they had fired I saw a man sit upon the ground wounded in the path-way, he held his hand upon his thigh, I saw blood in his hand and it ran down. How that man was dressed I do not know, they said he was a weaver. I was pretty near the soldiers when they fired. The two first rows fired first, then afterwards the two second rows fired, there might be a quarter of a minute between. A good many persons were taken up. None that I saw were rescued. Yet they would not disperse.

William Abbot. I am a constable of St. Olave's, and live in the Maze-pond, Southwark; I was at the King's-bench prison on the 10th of May, there were a great number of people gathered together; I came there without my staff. Mr. Ponton asked me where my staff was; I went home and got it, and came back about one. There was a stone, or something or other, came and hit Mr. Gillam upon the head, between two and three. I was in the fields near Mr. Gillam. Some of the mob did throw it, I cannot say who, the stone made him stagger; presently after that somebody gave order to fire, I heard it, but who it was I cannot say. I did

not

not see who it was. I was looking towards the people at the same time.

Cross examined. I had been there during the whole of the day. The people hallooed *Wilkes and liberty*, and wanted to see him. There was nothing done but throwing a parcel of fods and stones; the justices desired they would go about their business. This continued a long time; I saw Mr. Ponton struck in the morning before that; it might be with a stone for what I know; Mr. Gillam was struck on the head, and a serjeant was cut on the lip; the throwing of stones was several times repeated, I heard the justices desire them to disperse a great many times. I did not hear the proclamation read. I was in the other part of the field, desiring the people to disperse; the justices gave us orders to disperse the mob as much as we could. I did attempt to do it; I gave them good words, but it all ended in nothing at all. Not many of the mob did go off. There were fifteen or twenty thousand.

Robert Allen. I am a constable; I was present on the 10th of May when the firing was; *I don't think there was upon my soul any provocation, for there was no attempt made to take any prisoners; there were a great number of people in the fields, it was a general thoroughfare, and I believe every body that went through the fields stopped there: there was a great party of horse guards came and rode among the people, and caused a great disturbance; the gaol is railed round, and the people were leaning upon these rails; the horse rode among them and dispersed them to the out borders of the fields; when they came to the road and causeway they buzzed and hissed the soldiers, that was all the provocation I saw; the horse occasioned a great disturbance, and the whole disturbance I believe; the people buzzed and hissed, but no farther riot. I saw two or three people that fell with their wounds. At that time I was not near enough to hear any orders given to fire. I do remember the manner of firing. The body of soldiers were within about forty yards of the causeway, the way that people walk in; they call it platoons, I believe, they were separated, not all together; they fired at random, half a dozen at a time, more or less; a great number of them loaded three times, and seemed to enjoy their fire. I thought it a great cruelty. Nothing appeared amongst the people but hissing at this time, and hissing the soldiers as they rode backwards and forwards. I saw no outrages at that time. This was about three, or a little after. I cannot say I saw a stone thrown the whole day to my knowledge; I was in different parts, I was not there at first. I did not see the weaver as was talked of.*

Cross examined. I came first about two o'clock, some little time after Mr. Allen was murdered. I am a peruke-maker and hatter; my business would not admit me sooner. I did see the justices; the commanding officer came up and said, "I believe we have dispersed the mob." Mr. Gillam said, "I hope there is no mischief done." This was a very short time after firing; the commanding officer said, "You may depend upon it there is no mischief done, because we always fire in the air; there was a great number

number of people afterwards reporting there was murder done. That was the horse officer. I had some little conversation with Mr. Gillam, but I suppose that is no way necessary in regard to the examination now, it is not worth mentioning, I think it will not avail any thing; there was one Boddington, a ball went thro' his thigh and shivered it; they were going to order me into confinement for saying it was a cruel thing; "I said, Gentlemen, as you have ordered this fire, it is very proper you should order this man away." Mr. Gillam said, "Why don't you go and take him away." I said it was not in my power to take him away. The hazard of my trade and family hindered my being there before two o'clock, it was not in my power to have come sooner. I was in the field at the time the firing was ordered by the justices almost the whole day, but not near enough to hear any order for firing. Sometimes I suppose forty yards from Mr. Gillam, and sometimes close to him; at the time the firing was ordered, I suppose I might be about forty yards distant. I was among the general body of the people. I could see the people upon whom the firing was. I observed nothing but hallooing. I did not observe any thing of the whole body of people but hallooing. I did not the whole time I was there see a stone flung. I was no relation at all to the Allen that was killed.

George Milford Flowers. I live in St. Olave's; I was present in St. George's-fields the 10th of May; I came there a few minutes after twelve. I went into the Haymarket; I continued there a quarter of an hour. I was there part of the day before the quarter of an hour. I observed the people a good deal dissatisfied at the death of Allen; I did not come till after that. I did not see Mr. Gillam there then. I did not see any thing but dissatisfaction at the death of Allen, they expressed it in words; I did not see any sticks or any thing thrown; I went to Mr. Allen's, and from thence down the Borough to enquire for a justice of the peace, to have an evidence made of that young man. I came back near two; I went along the wall of the King's-bench between two and three; I passed from thence to the King's-bench, and from thence to the marshal's house. There was a great tumult among the soldiers, I believe the people were fleeing and the soldiers fleeing. I was not in a situation to observe the foot, this was the horse; I was close by the prison wall. I did not observe that I was there the time the foot fired. I did not remain, but passed along. I saw Mr. Gillam a little after, but not immediately; I was waiting to obtain a warrant for a soldier that killed Mr. Allen; Mr. Gillam took off his wig and rubbed his head, he said he had received a blow with a brickbat or something, but he thanked God, he said, that his skull was thick it had not hurt it. Mr. Gillam did not give any reason for firing in my hearing. I did not see Redburn that day to my knowledge; I had some conversation with Mr. Gillam in the evening, he said he had had something throwed at him. Mr. Gillam at any other part of the day, did nothing but what I have mentioned before.

James

James Darbyshire. I know Mr. Gillam, and I remember this roth of May very well. I had conversation with Mr. Gillam about the accident that day, about one or two o'clock; this was after the murder of Mr. Allen's son, before the killing of Redburn.

Council for prosecution. *Then that has nothing to do with this matter; we will not ask you any further questions.*

Darbyshire. Then what do I come here for?

Council for the prosecution. Can you prove any thing?

Darbyshire. Yes, I was there from twelve till nine at night; I saw the whole behaviour of Mr. Gillam; I am a bookseller, and live in the parish of St. George's, Hanover-square; I came into St. George's fields, and went into the King's-bench prison; I came a little before twelve o'clock; I did not go the usual way that I was going; I went into the prison for safety indeed; I went into the coffee-room, and met with two friends, and we drank part of a bottle of perry; I staid there about half an hour, then my friends and I said we had no business there, and it would be our best way to leave that place, and go to our respective homes; I saw a great many of the military there; there was a disturbance from the military riding among the people; I could see into the fields, because there were glass windows there; I did not observe any ill behaviour in the people, and I dare say there was none intended; I did quit the prison; when I came out of the prison I was going into the city, and at the end of the wall there were people crying out, there was a murder committed; this was a little before one o'clock.

Court. *This being before one o'clock, it has no relation to the death of Redburn. You see the accusation against Mr. Gillam is for being instrumental in the death of Redburn.*

Darbyshire. My Lord, I am going to tell you the whole of Mr. Gillam's behaviour from first to last.

Council for prosecution. *Keep yourself to the behaviour of Mr. Gillam.*

Darbyshire. After the murder, I turned to the King's-bench prison, by the desire of Mrs. Allen, to see after the murderer; this was about one o'clock; I applied to the justices for a warrant to apprehend the murderer or murderers; the justices would not grant any; I then applied to justice Gillam; he said—

Court. *It is to be understood that we are not to let evidence be given that is not applicable to the case in hand; this gentleman is charged with a crime relative to one Redburn; this man is telling you about his conduct about one Allen; it is the duty of the bench, where there is no council in support of the prosecution, to see that proper evidence be given; and if the council for the prosecution does not confine the witnesses to the proper matter, to take care that improper evidence be not given.*

Darbyshire. Mr. Gillam told me he had orders from the ministry to fire upon the people, and that there must be some men killed, and that it was better to kill five and twenty to-day than have an hundred to kill to-morrow; this was in the field, opposite the marshal's house. It was between one and two o'clock; the other evidences have been admitted to speak; he said he had orders from the ministry to fire upon
the

the people, and that there must be some men killed; this was in the presence of the soldiers, and that they had better kill five and twenty to-day than an hundred tomorrow. All the afternoon there were people taken into custody, and put into a cellar under the marshal's house: the place where I heard these expressions was near the marshal's house.

Q. Name those persons that were present.

Darbyshire. What, the soldiers! I am not so well acquainted with them; I believe it was said twice in the house and out of the house, and with a sneer, as if murder was a thing of no consequence; it was without the marshal's house, as near as I can remember; there were some people by at this time, but I don't recollect who they were. Mr. Ponton was there; I don't know whether he was in hearing, but I saw him there. I cannot recollect whether he was near at the time; there were people there, but I don't recollect particular persons what their names were; I do not know whether Mr. Ponton was upon the spot at that time; I saw that gentleman several times in the course of the afternoon.

CROSS EXAMINED.

I believe such a conversation was spoke twice, but I am not certain; I am not certain only as to once; to the best of my knowledge that was opposite the marshal's house. I believe it was about two o'clock. I cannot name any persons that were present who I know at that time were within hearing. I do not exactly recollect the second time when it was said; there was a good deal of discourse in the marshal's house; they talked of it as a thing of trifling concern, a matter of no concern. Mr. Gillam, upon my application to him for a warrant for the murderers, said he would grant no warrant; he said it was no murder, for that he had orders from the ministry to fire upon the people, and there must be some killed, and it was better to kill five and twenty to-day than a hundred to-morrow; how long that was after the first conversation I cannot tell; it was not at night; I do not say the very particular words were said, but there were several things said.

Q. I ask you as to the time;

Darbyshire. You asked me before; I have answered it, I cannot tell.

Council. You cannot tell whether it was immediately after the first, or five or six hours after; was it in the marshal's house?

Darbyshire. I am not certain; I believe it was, but am not certain; you will not draw any thing from me.

Council. You do not fix any particular time or place for the second conversation; you do not recollect any particular person that was present in that second supposed conversation?

Darbyshire. I told you that before; you ask me the same question three or four times over.

Q. What did you say there was a second conversation for?

Darbyshire. Because I was asked if there was any thing of that sort.

Q. When you heard it a second time, what did you hear?

Darbyshire. It was not the same words, but to that purport; it was with great difficulty that any warrant could be obtained; if you will let me go on, I shall say a good deal more than I have.

Q. In this last case do you mean to give the words the justice used?

Darbyshire. The words the justice used.

Q. Then mention them again, because I did not understand whether they are your sense of the conversation, or the words he used?

Darbyshire. Gillam said it was no murder; I did not hear the other justices say any thing in particular; I imagined that this gentleman was foreman on that most glorious day.

Council. In this second conversation you understood Mr. Gillam to say, they were determined to grant no warrants to apprehend these persons that committed what you call murder?

Darbyshire. Mr. Gillam said, if their names could be procured he would grant warrants.

Council. Then what you mean by this is to say, Mr. Gillam said he would not grant any warrants till he knew their names?

Darbyshire. This was in the marshal's house, but the words were used on the first application for warrants.

Council. Then he said the reason why he did not grant warrants was, because you did not name the names of particular persons; how long have you been acquainted with Mr. Gillam?

Darbyshire. The 10th of May, above twelve o'clock, was the first of my acquaintance with him; I did not know there was a Mr. Gillam living before, and I wish I had not seen him then, because I saw such acts of cruelty I never saw before.

Council. Mr. Gillam was in company with you in some room in that second conversation?

Darbyshire. Many hours.

Q. How came you together as acquaintance if you had never known him before?

Darbyshire. Because I was applying for warrants, endeavouring to bring the murderers to light; I was there, and drank there, I believe out of the same glass; but I am not sure of that; I think that is not material; Mr. Flowers was in the room; there was the cow-man in the room, whose name I do not recollect; I saw Mr. Ponton there several times. The application for these warrants was particularly made by Mr. Flowers and another gentleman, Mr. Horne, who I believe is a clergyman, and lives at Brentford.

Q. from a jurymen. Did not you say you had something else to say?

Darbyshire. I have; the justice's clerk (I imagined him to be one) he acted as such upon taking the deposition of one of the people for the murder of Allen, beginning with what happened from twelve o'clock; when he came to that part wherein he said he heard Mr. Gillam order the military to fire upon the people, Mr. Gillam said, "Hold, hold, do not take his deposition from that time before that, but what happened in the cow-house." I imagined Mr. Gillam was conscious of his guilt.

Q. I desire you would explain one particular transaction----

Court. You see, brother Glynn, this is not evidence.

Serjeant Glynn. No, it is not; only the jury desired to hear what he had to say.

A Jurymen. We thought he might know something more of the matter.

Q. Were any other justices present except Mr. Gillam?

Darbyshire. At the time he said it was no murder? No, not as I know of.

Q. I understood you that the justices said they thought such a transaction no murder?

Darbyshire. That was only Mr. Gillam, and no other justice at that time as I know of.

Court. Whether the words you mention were spoke without the marshal's house or within?

Darbyshire. I have told you, my Lord, it was without the marshal's house, in the hearing of the soldiers, and that I believe it was about two o'clock; I cannot judge to a quarter or half an hour; I believe it was after we went into the marshal's house; I think it was.

Q. to George Milford Flowers. Do you remember seeing Mr. Darbyshire there?

Flowers. Yes; I made repeated applications for a warrant to Mr. Gillam in the marshal's house; about three o'clock I saw Mr. Darbyshire several times; he said a great many things to me; the justice ordered me into custody for helping the woman; he ordered depositions to be taken; he said they were all alike, and would not have them, he would not have them otherwise; I did not get a warrant; Mr. Pardon was taking depositions; he said he could not help it, it was as they gave them.

Q. Was any thing said after the firing at that time?

Flowers. He said it was owing to their throwing at his head; Justice Capel was there; he said he had an order from the ministry to kill twenty-five of the people.

Q. Did Mr. Gillam say any thing to that effect?

Flowers.

Flowers. Mr. Gillam did not; Col. West was there; he made some slight apologies, and said, it was owing to the gun going off; *he said he could have drove them all away without breaking their skins; there was no reason to hurt none of them; Mr. Gillam, in the evening, was very urgent to have them fire again.*

William Pinribb. I am turnkey at the King's-bench prison; I was minding the prisoners on the inside; I know nothing that happened without; I saw a number of people on the outside; my charge was very heavy; I was busy in looking after the prisoners; there was such great numbers of people coming in and out that required my attention; I took in a many that day for misbehaviour; they were brought and delivered into my custody; there were no stones thrown in that day as I know of, there were some thrown in the day before; I could not see any that were in the marshal's house, if there was; the door of the prison was broke the day before. I was not afraid of their breaking the prison the second day, because I had a sufficient guard with me on the inside; I had half a dozen people; they were not foldiers, I mean a sufficient guard for my own safety, that people did not rush in too fast. I did not send for the guard the day before; I believe the marshal did; it was on the outside the prison; you are asking me what was done without side, I did not see that. I did the day before make affidavit of the riot and disturbance. The day before it was necessary to have such a guard. I think there were more people assembled that day than the day before, but as to their transactions, I can say nothing to that. We kept them out the day before; when they had broke the outside door, we put the bar up; I cannot say, if people had pushed in, that we could have kept them out, if they had all come and pushed in together. I sent to the marshal, and to the justices, that it was impossible for us to hold out any longer; we had barricaded the door. I had no doubt whether it was necessary to have a guard the next day. I got my arms ready, and thought they should not come in till they had broke the second door. But there was not any force used the second day. A number of people forced in, and we kept half a dozen men to push them out again; they came against our inclinations. There are upwards of three hundred prisoners within side. The amount of the charge upon the marshal at that time, I believe to be about two hundred thousand pounds.

John Wills. I am a glazier, and a constable of St. Olave's parish; I was in St. George's-fields on the 10th of May, I went there about twelve o'clock, there was abundance of people besides me, the justices were there; I saw Mr. Ponton, Mr. Gillam, Mr. Russell, and several others, whose names I do not know. At the time the horse grenadiers came, there was a sad disturbance, the people cried out, *Wilkes and liberty*, and throwed stones; the guards were ordered to the field-gate, Mr. Gillam was along with them; I went with them; Mr. Gillam desired the people to disperse, and for God's sake to go home; he said, if he saw any more stones throwed he would order the guards to fire; just at that time something came and hit him on the side of the hand, he fell back about two or three yards; he came forwards again, and said to the officer, if this be the case we shall be all killed, you must fire; *he said fire*: upon that the soldiers fired immediately, I saw the horse grenadiers fire; then I thought myself in danger, because they fired into the path where we were. There were three rows of soldiers, I believe they fell into six, but I cannot be positive; I looked on them to be about thirty-five or thirty-six men. I did not hear the Riot-Act read. Mr. Gillam told the people it had been read, and the time was nearly expired; in the evening it was read again, it was read three several times afterwards, that I remember. Mr. Gillam said if they throwed any more stones they must order the guards to fire.

††† He was acquitted, and had a copy of his indictment granted him.

A short Account of the Trial of Donald MacLane at Guildford for the wilful murder of young Mr. Allen, on the 10th of May 1768. (See vol. II. p. 418 and 4. 1.)

At Guildford assizes, on the 8th of August, 1768, the Grand Jury for the county of Surry consisted of the following persons:

† Right Honourable George Onslow, Esq; member for the county, has a pension of 3000l. per ann. and is one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. of Stoke D'Abernon, Knight of the Shire.

Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. of Botlies, member for Southwark.

† George Onslow, Esq; member for Guildford, Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest, with an additional salary.

† Jeremiah Dyson, Esq; of Stoke, Secretary of the Treasury in Lord Bute's time, and now Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.

† John Middlemarsh and Daniel Ponton, Esqrs. of Lambeth, both employed as Justices in the *business* of St. George's fields, when young Allen was shot, George Woodroffe, Esq; of Poyle.

Sam. Plumb, Esq; of Tooting, Alderman of London.

† Richard Hotham, Esq; of Merton, a Contractor for the Army,

Edward Garthwaite, Esq; of Shackleford.

William Man Godschall, Esq; of Albany.

John Vincent, Esq; of Beach-hill.

William Gill, Esq; of Easing.

† Philip Carteret Webb, Esq; of Busbridge, of famous memory.

George Udney, Esq; of Thames Ditton.

James Champaign, Esq; of Weybridge.

† James Morris, Esq; of Putney, carpenter to the Board of Ordnance.

† John Rowlls, Esq; of Kingston, Receiver General of the Land-tax, for the county of Surry.

Samuel Hurlock, Esq; of Esher.

Giles Strangways, Esq; of Shalford.

Anthony Chapman, Esq; of Norbury.

Robert Nash, Esq; of Artington.

Sir Fletcher Norton was summoned on the Grand Jury, but not being in the county, John Middlemarsh, Esq; (who, it is said, had never been summoned) was sworn in his room. There were several present who had been summoned, but the law not admitting more than twenty-three on the Grand Jury, they could not serve.

The Jury having considered of the Bills of Indictment presented against Alexander Murray, Esq; the Officer, Donald McLaury, and Donald Maclane, who were charged with the wilful murder of William Allen, the younger; and having examined a great number of witnesses, and sat upwards of twelve hours, returned no true bill against Alexander Murray, Esq; and Donald McLaury; but after a decision of thirteen against nine, found a true bill against Donald Maclane.

On the 9th, at seven in the morning, the trial of Maclane came on before Baron Smythe (Lord Mansfield having left the town). The council for the prosecution were Mr. Serjeant Leigh, Mr. Lade, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Baker; for the soldier, Mr. Hervey, Mr. Cox, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Bishop.

Mr. Serjeant Leigh having opened the cause, proceeded to the examination of the evidence for the prosecution.

The first witness was Joseph Skydmore; he said that on Tuesday the 10th of May in the morning, about nine o'clock, he went with a young woman, who was big with child, to St. George's-fields, in order to see Mr. Wilkes, whom he had been told was to go that day to Westminster-hall. That the people having crowded about the King's-bench, the soldiers endeavoured to make them retire, and that the prisoner having his bayonet fixed, wounded the young woman in the side through her stays, which made the witness take particular notice of him from that instant. That between 11 and 12 o'clock, some of the mob (particularly a man in a red waistcoat) threw handfuls of grass at the soldiers and the justices, on which Ensign Murray, with a sword drawn in his hand, followed by some grenadiers, pursued the fellow, who fled across the road at the end of Blackman-street, towards a cow-house in Horsefonger-lane. That he (Skydmore) ran after the soldiers to see the event, and found, when they came to the cow-house, the door was shut, which they endeavoured to force open with the butt ends of their mus-

quets;

quets; Mr. Murray soon after entered, and went through the cow-house, which had three doors, or gates, one at each side, and another at one of the ends; the prisoner, with one M'Laury, a grenadier, then entered the cow-house, just at the time that young Mr. Allen and a little boy came in at one of the other doors; M'Laury said, *Damn him, that's him, shoot him!* on which the prisoner took aim and fired immediately. Skydmore then saw young Mr. Allen, who had no weapon, or made the least resistance, and the little boy fall down, and heard Allen mutter some incoherent words: the prisoner then shut his pan, and the witness saw the smoke come out from the touch-hole; he was very positive the prisoner was the man that fired, as he stood within five or six yards of him at the time. That Ensign Murray came into the cow-house directly after, and said something to the soldiers, on which they hastily returned to the King's-bench, where the witness followed them, and saw the prisoner pull out a snuff-box, and in about half an hour after, saw an officer come up to him, take his musquet out of his hand, and *overhaul* or examine it, on which the prisoner was turned out of the ranks.

The next witness was Nicholas Thwaites, who said, That he was in St. George's-fields on the 10th of last May, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and saw a man dressed in two red waistcoats, throw stones at the soldiers, and wound one of the sergeants on the mouth, on which justice Gillam ordered the soldiers to pursue the rioter. That Ensign Murray, and three grenadiers, with several hatmen run after the fellow, who made towards the cow-house, which was within forty yards of the hay-market. That the hatmen stopped, but the grenadiers went on, and entered the cow-house, at the great gates, Ensign Murray first, and the prisoner last. That he [Thwaites] having followed the soldiers, heard M'Laury say, *Damn him, here is one of the villains we are looking after--Damn him! shoot him!* On which young Allen, who was in the cow-house, with a little boy, and a man in a white waistcoat, whose name was Brawn, cried out in a fluttering manner, *No harm, no harm!* but notwithstanding, the prisoner fired directly, and shot Allen in the breast, who instantly fell down. The prisoner then said, *Damn it, it is a good shot.*--The witness declared, he could not be mistaken in the prisoner, as he took particular notice of his face at that time. Soon after Allen rose up, and ran across the road to a woman, with whom he was acquainted, crying, *I am a dead man*, and immediately expired. That Ensign Murray and his men, returned to the rest of the soldiers at the King's-bench, where the witness saw the prisoner in the ranks, with a snuff-box in his hand, by which he was distinguished by the crowd, who were very anxious to know the murderer: That some time after the officer took the prisoner's musquet out of his hand, and, as the witness imagined, found it had been discharged; on which the prisoner was turned out of the ranks, but in a short space after, placed in them again.

John Okin, a youth, of 16, said, that young Allen, who had just before left his father's house, and himself, were standing between eleven and twelve o'clock, by the Drapers alms-houses, which are a good distance from the place where the soldiers were insulted. That on their hearing the drum beat to arms, and seeing the grenadiers run after a man towards the fore gates of the cow-house, young Allen who wore a red waistcoat, and himself, wanting to see the event, ran the other way, which was shorter, towards the cow-house also: That Allen went in first, and the witness followed him close; at that instant the grenadiers entered at the other door, and, perceiving Allen, one of them said, *Kill him!* on which a grenadier, whose person the evidence could not swear to, fired, and Allen dropt down, as likewise did Okin himself, through excess of fear. That directly after Ensign Murray came into the cow-house, and said, *Damn you, why did you fire?* The witness then got up, and saw Allen bleeding very much from the arm and breast. That Allen made the best of his way to one Miles's, near the cow-house, where he soon after died; and this witness went immediately home, being apprehensive of further danger, and extremely intimidated at what he had seen.

Thomas Brawn, labourer, said, that as he was working in his own yard, near the cow-house, about ten minutes before 12 o'clock, on the 10th of May, he saw
a man

a man in a red waistcoat pursued by Ensign Murray, three grenadiers, and one Irishman. That the soldiers having, as he supposed, lost sight of the man they were in quest of, endeavoured to get in at the gate of the yard, leading to the cow-house; on which he (Brawn) went up to them, and enquired what they wanted. Ensign Murray soon after unlatched the gate, and entered, one grenadier followed the officer, the witness went in next, and the other two soldiers after him. That when they were all in the cow-house, one of the grenadiers seeing young Allen, who was intirely unarmed and defenceless, said to him, *Damn you, I'll shoot you!* *Damn you, do*, says another soldier; at these words the grenadier presented his piece at the youth, and he [Brawn] endeavouring to strike it down, the other soldier presented a musquet at the witness, who found it safest to desist from intermeddling in the affair: the first soldier then fired, and Allen fell bleeding on the ground. That Ensign Murray, who had been in the yard on the other side of the cow-house, immediately re-entering, the witness said to him, *one of your people has shot a gentleman's son*; On this Ensign Murray asked, with an oath, *which of them had fired?* one of the soldiers, [Brawn thinks not the man who did fire] answered, *Sir, my gun went off at half cock by accident*; the witness replied, *it was a lie*, and requested Ensign Murray to order them to draw their charges, which request the Ensign refused to comply with, and the soldiers went away.

John Blest, attorney's clerk, was the next evidence: He said that he was in St. George's-fields on the morning of the 10th of last May, and saw no riot; but that upon a paper, which had been stuck up against the King's-bench prison, being pulled down, the mob were greatly displeased, and one of them, a fellow in a red waistcoat, threw a stone amongst the soldiers, which hit justice Gillam on the head, who immediately clapt his hand to the place, and said *fire!* The mob then began to disperse, and the soldiers run different ways, in order to catch the fellow in the red waistcoat. That this evidence followed in the pursuit, and when he came to the cow-house, saw one of the soldiers present his piece, and shoot young Allen, who might have been taken prisoner with the greatest facility. That he could not swear to the person of the soldier who shot the unfortunate youth; nor did he hear or believe at a quarter of an hour before twelve o'clock, that the Riot Act had been read †.

Thorold Lowdell, surgeon, said, there were two wounds on young Mr. Allen's wrist, which appeared to him to have been given by some cutting instrument; and that the wound on the chest, which broke part of his breast-bone, collar-bone, and first rib, was a *gun-shot* wound; that the orifice, by which the ball came out at the deceased's back, was two inches lower than the orifice at his breast; from which circumstances, the witness conjectured, the musquet was presented in a direction obliquely downwards.

George Milford Flowers, Gent. swore, That on the 11th of May, the day after the unfortunate transaction, he assisted the constables in conveying the prisoner to gaol, and while he was in the coach with the prisoner, in the course of conversation upon what had happened the day before, he [Maclean] said, *What they had done was in consequence of the orders they had received, and hoped they should obtain mercy*. The witness was very sure the prisoner was the man that Ensign Murray removed out of the ranks on the 10th of May, and said, the prisoner was directed by Ensign Murray, not to say any thing relating to the manner in which Allen was killed before the justice.

These witnesses were all cross-examined with extraordinary spirit; in which some of them were a little confused in their answers, but did not differ essentially.

William Brazier, Gent. said, that the prisoner was turned out of the ranks, and walked backwards and forwards under the wall of the King's-bench prison, and

† This witness, during his examination, happening to make use of the inflammatory word, *massacre*, when he mentioned the unfortunate fate of young Allen, was reprimanded for it by the court; upon which one of the council, [Mr. Baker] who was concerned for the prosecution, with some warmth, endeavoured to vindicate the expression; but he was ordered immediately to desist, and was told his behaviour was extremely indecent.

and that he saw a black mark on the inside of the prisoner's coat-sleeve, which he imagined arose from his [Maclean's] wiping his bayonet on it, after he had fired his piece.

Jacob Gillbert deposed, he saw young Allen between eleven and twelve of the clock, on the morning of the 10th of May, looking after his father's business; that he was not among the mob at all; and that the person in the red waistcoat, who threw stone at the soldiers and justices, was not young Allen.

Ann Waters swore, she saw young Allen, on the 10th of May, between eleven and twelve o'clock, ride up the road, at the end of Blackman-street, as usual, about his father's business, and was sure he was not among the rioters.

Here the evidence for the prosecution ended: upon which the prisoner was asked if he had any thing to say in his defence. He replied, *in the broad Scots dialect*, that he was not able to answer for himself, but he had done nothing against orders; for that he was commanded to follow in the pursuit, and was in the yard of the cow-house when the gun went off; that his own musquet was not fired. *That if he was guilty, he knew he should lose his life in this world, and his soul in the next*; but that he was as innocent of the crime as the child unborn, and he hoped God and his officer would stand up for him.

The prisoner's council then proceeded to examine their witnesses, the first of whom was,

Samuel Gillam, Esq; who was tried at the Old Bailey: He said, that on the 10th of May, having been before applied to by the Marshal of the King's-bench for protection and assistance, he came to the prison, where a detachment of 100 men had been ordered under the command of Col. Beauclerk. That the mob were extremely riotous, made use of many treasonable expressions, and had stuck up a seditious paper against the prison. That upon his desiring one of the constables to take down the paper, a great number of stones, &c. were thrown at the constables, soldiers, and himself. That he was hit above ten times; at length the constables delivered him the paper †, which greatly enraged the mob, and they called out repeatedly, *The paper! give us the paper!* upon which the witness told them, if any of them would claim it as his own property, he [Gillam] would immediately restore it. That after this the people grew extremely outrageous, and he attempted [it being at that time near 11 o'clock] to read the Riot Act, but was interrupted by the stones that were thrown at him, and obliged to desist. That the mob frequently cried out, *No Wilkes, no K---! ----- Damn the K---! ----- Damn the P-----t ----- Damn the Justices!---* That at about five minutes after eleven o'clock, the witness having read the proclamation, in spite of all opposition, and explained to the rioters the dangerous consequences of their behaviour, Ensign Murray, sent to desire the assistance of the civil officers in the place where he and his men were posted: That the witness went immediately to him, and was struck on the hand and arm by a stone, which was thrown from amongst the crowd by a man in a red waistcoat; upon which the witness ordered the constables to seize him, and Ensign Murray and six or seven soldiers assisted in pursuing the fellow. That soon after, the report of a gun was heard, and when the soldiers returned from the pursuit, which lasted but a very few minutes, one of them exclaimed, *Good God, I have accidentally killed a man.* Ensign Murray then said, *Damn you, why did you fire? or who bid you fire?* to which the soldier replied, *Nobody, Sir, my piece went off at half cock*; and seemed by his countenance and manner extremely concerned and shocked at the unfortunate circumstance.

Mr.

† Here he produced the paper, which was read, and was as follows;

Let venal judges, ministers combine,
And here Great WILKES and LIBERTY confine;
Yet in each English heart secure their fame is
In spite of crowded levees at St. J---s's.
Then, while in prison, Envy dooms their stay,
Here, grateful Britons, daily homage pay.

PHILO-LIBERTATIS. No. 45.

Mr. Gillam was very sure the soldier who seemed in this distress was not the prisoner at the bar. His figure was in many respects different from the prisoner's, and his accent also, as he spoke very fluent, good English, for a Scot'sman; and as the prisoner was hardly able to express himself at all in the English language. That he [Gillam] gave no orders for the soldiers to fire at the time of the fatal accident; and that he and justice Ponton took every method in their power to prevent any mischief ensuing from the outrageous behaviour of the rioters.

Herbert Thomas, Esq; was the next witness. He corroborated Mr. Gillam's evidence, with respect to the Marshal of the King's-bench applying to the justices for assistance, and confirmed the above account of the riotous behaviour of the mob, in severely pelting the peace officers and soldiers; and added, that amongst the rest of their treasonable expressions, one of the rioters declared, *It was the most glorious time for a revolution that had ever been seen*, or words to that effect.

Mr. Thomas, the Marshal of the King's-bench, was next produced. He declared he had such strong reasons to be apprehensive of the mob breaking open the prison, that he had been obliged to apply for the assistance of the peace-officers and soldiers to protect it.---That the mob threatened several times to pull it down, and so lately as Sunday the 8th instant, had behaved in a very riotous manner. ---That he had near 350 prisoners in his custody, who were confined for upwards of 200,000l. The rest of his evidence agreed with that of the two last witnesses, in respect to the behaviour of the mob on the 10th of May.

W. Quare, constable, deposed to the same effect as Gillam, with regard to the paper. He saw Ensign Murray and the soldiers pursue the man in the red waistcoat; in about twelve minutes afterwards they returned to the King's-bench, and Ensign Murray said, *One of our people has killed a man*, on which a grenadier said, *It was a sad misfortune*, and lamented having been guilty of so fatal an accident. The witness thought the prisoner was not the man, as the grenadier was marked with the small-pox, and Maclane was not. Being asked, if he [the witness] never said Maclane was the man? He answered in the negative.

----- Phillips, constable, declared, there were a great many stones, &c. thrown at the soldiers and peace-officers on the 10th of May; that justice Ponton said, "We must not have the officers insulted though we are," and sent this witness with the soldiers to apprehend the fellow in the red waistcoat; that on the return of this witness to the King's-bench, he heard one of the soldiers say, *I have killed a man by accident*, but could not be certain whether the prisoner was, or was not the man, who made use of that expression.

Constantine O'Neil, corporal in the third regiment of guards, was then called to give his testimony. He said, that on the 10th of May in the morning, he came into St. George's-fields, with the detachment of 100 men, commanded by Col. Beauchlerck; that the mob, who were very numerous, received them with three huzzas, and when they [the soldiers] were ordered to prime and load, the people scoffingly cried, *No ball, No ball*, and swore, *they would take the arms from the soldiers and kill them*. That he frequently heard the treasonable expressions uttered by the mob, *No Wilkes, No K---*; and that several soldiers were wounded by the stones which were thrown. That during the pursuit of the man in the red waistcoat, he heard Ensign Murray order the men not to fire upon any account; and that when the gun was discharged at the cow-house, one Peter Mac Laughlin, a grenadier, said, *My piece went off by accident*; which words the witness heard Mac Laughlin repeat before the justices, when they returned back to the detachment, and several times after. That Mac Laughlin had since deserted.

On corporal O'Neil's cross-examination, he said, he did not remember that the prisoner was at all concerned in the pursuit, or near the cow-house; though he, [the witness] was so much confused by the fatal accident, he could not pretend to be certain. That he did not examine Mac Laughlin's gun, though he heard there was a musket examined; nor did he see any man turned out of the ranks, or sit under the King's-bench wall.

Samuel Ridgeway, hatman in the third regiment of guards, declared, That he was concerned in the pursuit of the fellow in the red waistcoat, and that the prisoner and he were not in the cow-house when the gun was fired, but stood in the yard;

third; that Ensign Murray said, *Who fired that gun?* to which one Mac Laughlin replied, *Sir, my piece went off at the half cock, and I have killed a man*; and at the same time the witness saw the pan of his musquet open. That he heard Mac Laughlin mention words to the same purport the evening of the 10th of May; and also own the circumstance two days afterwards. This witness further declared, that he expostulated with Mac Laughlin upon the injustice of his fastening the prisoner to be confined for an accident, which he [Mac Laughlin] only was the cause of; that Mac Laughlin bid the witness never mind it, for as the prisoner was innocent, he could come to no hurt; or words to that effect. Ridgeway also said, the reason of the prisoner's piece being examined by Ensign Murray, was owing to his flint being so long, that when it was upon the half cock, the cover of the pan would not shut down; that Ensign Murray reprimanded the prisoner for not having a proper flint, and threw the priming out of his pan; which circumstance, the witness imagined caused the mob, who were at a distance, to fix upon the prisoner, as the person who fired the gun; that the mob being very riotous, and pointing at MacLane, he was ordered out of the ranks; which the witness supposed, confirmed the people in the opinion, that the officers themselves were satisfied, he was the soldier by whom young Allen had been killed.

The next evidence was James Hyde, grenadier in the third regiment of guards, who swore, That he was employed in the pursuit after the fellow with the red waistcoat, and when the grenadiers got to the cow-house, he [Hyde] and Mac Laughlin entered the door, Mac Laughlin first and the witness after; that he saw a young man in a red waistcoat at the other end of the cow-house, and at that instant Mac Laughlin's piece went off and the youth fell down; that he was very sure there was no other soldier within the cow-house but Mac Laughlin, whom he stood close by at the time, and himself; he did not recollect seeing MacLane, the prisoner, among the pursuers at all, but said, there was a constable with them. That the intention of Mac Laughlin and himself was to take the young lad prisoner. That he heard no words spoke in the cow-house; nor did he see O'Kins, or any one else there but Mac Laughlin and the youth in the red waistcoat. That Mac Laughlin owned, it was his piece that went off, and he [the witness] saw him prime it a short time afterwards.

When cross-examined, Hyde was asked why he did not run up to the young man who was wounded, to assist him, it being natural to do so when such an accident had happened; he replied, he was in great confusion, and hurried back to the detachment, as fast as he could, and that he never heard MacLane was suspected of killing the unfortunate young man that day, as he (the witness) left the field soon after with Captain Fouke's party.

William Cooper, grenadier in the third regiment of guards, was then examined, and declared, he was ordered upon the party to pursue the fellow, who had been so remarkable for throwing stones, &c. on the morning of the 10th of May in St. George's-fields; that some of the soldiers got before the witness, and that just as he came up to the gate of the cow-house he heard a gun discharged; on which he ran in, and saw young Allen lying on the ground, and Mac Laughlin standing near him with his musquet across his arm; that he then saw Brawn, and heard him say, *a murder was done*, but does not recollect what reply was made to these words. He saw Mac Laughlin wipe his bayonet, which was foul from his musquet having been fired.

When Cooper was on his cross-examination, he said he could not tell whether MacLane, the prisoner, was upon the party that pursued or not, and that he saw young Allen sit upon the ground after he fell and untie his neckcloth.

James Earl, sergeant in the third regiment, was the next witness who appeared; the substance of his evidence was, that about half an hour after ten o'clock at night, on the 10th of May, when MacLane, the prisoner, had been put upon the guard, he (Earl) was in the garden behind the Marshal's house at the King's-bench, in company with Mac Laughlin, who declared to him, that he (Mac Laughlin) was

the man who had been so unfortunate as to shoot young Allen; that it was done by accident, as his piece went off while it was on the half cock, and he hoped he should not be hurt.

Charles Stewart, a serjeant, and ---- Purday, George Bruce, Joseph Oddy, and Joseph Swindall, private men, of the third regiment, all swore to the same effect. Whereupon the jury withdrew, and having consulted together about an hour, returned into court, and found Maclane *not guilty*.

Such is the substance of this very remarkable and extraordinary Trial, which it is said, is *not* to be printed by authority; but the Rev. Mr. Horne is preparing for the public a very circumstantial account of every particular, as well of what passed in St. George's fields as at the Old Bailey and Guildford, which will doubtless be very deserving of every Englishman's perusal.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

*MURDER may pass unpunished for a time,
But tardy justice will o'ertake the crime;
And oft a speedier pain the guilty feels;
The bus and cry of heaven pursues him at the heels.*

DRYDEN.

WHEN a man becomes a member of any particular political society, he gives up to that society the right of revenging any injury done to him as an individual. The highest wrong a parent can suffer, is the unmerited loss of an affectionate and virtuous son. This is the case of Mr. Allen, who has no more the comfort of an only son of the greatest hopes. It was generally believed, that he was murdered by one Maclane, a Scottish soldier, of the third regiment. The father prosecuted. Administration undertook the defence of the soldier; *the solicitor of the treasury*, Mr. Nuthall, the deputy solicitor, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Barlow, of the Crown-office, attended the trial, and it is said, paid the whole expence for the prisoner out of the ----. The defence set up was, that young Allen was not killed by Maclane, but by another Scottish soldier of the same regiment, one Mac Laughlin, who confessed it at the time to the justice, as the justice says, though he owns that he took no one step against a person, who declared himself a murderer in the most express terms to this magistrate, sworn to administer the laws. The perfect innocence of the young man, as to the charge of being concerned in any riot or tumult, is universally acknowledged, and a more general good character is nowhere to be found. This Mac Laughlin soon made his escape, therefore was a deserter as well as a murderer; yet he has had a discharge sent him, with an allowance of one shilling a day, instead of a proclamation issued with a reward to apprehend him as a deserter and a murderer. If these facts are fairly stated, I ask if it is possible for an administration to wound deeper the fundamental principles of all government; or to shew more clearly that there is now no security, under this set of ministers, for the life of the subject; and if a continuance of power, in such hands, does not threaten a dissolution of our body politic, and of this civil society?

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

The bastard child, or feast for the church-wardens, a dramatic satire of two acts, as it is acted every where within the bills of mortality. 6d. Serjeant.

Mere ribaldry!

The great probability of a north-west passage, deduced from observations, in a letter from admiral De Fonte, with explanatory Maps, by Thomas Jefferys, geographer to the king: And an appendix, containing an account of the discovery of part of the coast and inland country of Labrador, the whole intended for the advancement of trade and commerce. Quarto 7s. 6d. sewed, Jefferys.

IT is much to be questioned whether the author has proved the probability of a north-west passage, the authenticity of the letter from whence he has made his deductions, may be granted without admitting his conclusion. It is indeed a subject worthy the consideration of every person interested in commerce, and to such we cannot say that the present writer has offered any thing new or solid.

The christian warrior finishing his course. A sermon occasioned by the death of the reverend Mr. Joseph Hart, preached at Jewin Street, by John Hughes, brother-in-law to Mr. Hart; with an oration at his interment, by Andrew Kinsman. 1s. Millan, &c.

THO' fraternal piety might have occasioned this effusion of friendship, it does very little honour to the dead; but we avoid being more particular for fear of damaging the living; especially as the publication is intended for the benefit of the surviving family.

The court of Star-chamber or seat of oppression, 6d. Steare,

AN attempt to prove, what all know, that this court, though erected by statute, was in opposition to the established laws of the land. What our author observes, relating

o liberty, royal and ministerial prerogative, and the liberty of the press, has been observed a thousand times before, in a far better manner. He is mistaken in saying that this court had no existence before Hen VII.

The speech of Mr. George Jahnson, in the general court of proprietors of East-India stock, upon the subject of the restitution for private losses in the war against Cossim Ali Cawn.

Sensible, and pertinent! But neither elegant, nor unanswerable.

A letter to the right honourable the earl of Hillsborough first lord of trade, and secretary of state for the American department, on the necessity of revoking the prohibition of commerce with Corsica, and for supplying the Corsicans in order to protect our Italian, Turkey, and Spanish trade, and to preserve the peace of Europe. 6d.

WHEN we consider the person addressed, we cannot help recollecting the old latin adage, "*Sus minervam*;" and when we consider the manner in which so important a subject is treated, we cannot but exclaim with Horace,

"*Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam viribus.*"

Philosophical transactions, vol. lvii. for the year 1767. 4to. 15s. 6d. Davis and Reymers.

A Judicious collection, comprehending several articles not less rare, than of public utility!

The real antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, vindicated and proved from the scriptures of truth &c. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Johnson.

THOU' the title would incline one to think that this was the work of a true Roman Catholic, written in defence of the boasted antiquity of the church of Rome, nothing was farther from his thoughts; his attempt is to prove what has been done better before, that the church of Rome is antichrist; and the beast mentioned in the Revelations. While the writer was thinking of one beast, a group of other beasts crowded into his head, the authors of the *critical review*, whom he compares to *Pharaoh's royal society*, and beleaguers with all the acrimony they deserve; but not with so much advantage, as some writers would wish him.

An account of the manners and customs of Italy, with observations on the mistakes of some travellers, with regard to that country. In two vols. by Joseph Baretti. 8vo. 10s. Davies.

NOTHING can give us a stronger proof, that it is more easy to perceive the contradictions of another than our own!

A View of the manners, customs, drama, &c. of Italy, as they are described in the Frustra Literaria; and in the account of Italy, in English, written by Mr. Baretti, compared with the letters from Italy, written by Mr. Sharp. By Samuel Sharp, Esq. 1s. 6d. Nicoll.

AN answer to the above, wherein Mr. Baretti has met with a Rowland for his Oliver; and may find Mr. Sharp, rather too sharp for him.

Commentaries on the laws of England, book the third, by William Blackstone, Esq. solicitor general to her majesty. 4to. 18s. Bathurst.

AN interesting work worthy the notice of the longrobe, and not unuseful to the senator and gentleman.

A dialogue between a tutor and his pupil, by Edward lord Herbert, of Chirbury. 4to. 9s. Bathoe.

AN attack upon revelation, managed with all the subtlety and sophistry, for which the author is equally notorious, and despicable.

An abridgment of sacred and ecclesiastic history, from the 18th century of christianity. Together with a short catechetical explanation of the principles of natural and revealed religion. To which is added an appendix to the second chapter of sacred history; and to the 6th century of the ecclesiastical history. By the revd. James Pelletreau, M. A. 5s. Johnston.

NEITHER accurate nor entertaining; but too concise to inform the unlearned, and too superficial to please those who have travelled in this path of learning.

The joys of Hymen, or the conjugal directory, a poem in three books, 2s. D. Davis

THIS is a translation of Mons. Quillet's callipædia, which was done forty years ago, by N. Rowe, esq. But a singular effort of modesty is pilfered from the proprietors of that latter gentleman's works, and published under a new title.

An essay on the diseases incident to Europeans in hot climates, with the method of preventing their fatal consequences, by James Lind. M. D. F. R. S. &c. 8vo. 6s. Becket & de Hondt.

A Sequel to what the author had published on this important subject; the former part was directed to the preservation of people crowded within the narrow limits of a ship, this is intended to preserve their health and constitution, after their landing in foreign parts, and during their residence there. The precepts are good, and illustrate the author's humanity, as well as his judgment.

Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de Corse. 8vo. 3s. sewed. Almon.

THIS little work which is written by Frederic, son of the unfortunate Theodore, late king of Corsica, and embellished with an accurate map of the island, contains the natural and political history of Corsica, from the earliest accounts to the present time; in a style that is elegant, nervous, and polite. To those who are desirous of being able to form any judgment of the history, the strength, productions, advantage, and importance of Corsica, this work will be useful and entertaining; as it will give them a very judicious and satisfactory account.

Memoirs of Corsica, &c. 8vo. 3s. sewed. Almon.

This is a very good translation of the preceding article.

An account of Denmark, ancient and modern. Containing its history, from Swain, the first christian king, to the present time; including a particular narrative of the great revolution in the Danish government in 1660; when the people, no longer able to bear the tyranny and oppression of the nobles, surrendered their liberties to the crown, and thereby made their king absolute. Also, the geography of Denmark, &c. Ornamented with a fine print of the present king and queen of Denmark, elegantly engraved. 8vo. 3s. sewed. Almon.

That the reader may be enabled to form some idea of this work, we shall present him with a copy of the table of contents.

INTRODUCTION to the history of Denmark.

A succinct state of the regality, from the earliest account of time to the date of the Christian Æra, 981.

The hist. of Denmark, commencing from Swain, the first Christian King, A. D. 981, and deduced down to the conclusion of the 12th century.

The

The history continued from the conclusion of the 12th to 1397, when Margaret finished the famous treaty of Calmar, which united the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and to the death of that excellent Princess, 1411.

Continued from the accession of Eric, successor of Margaret, to the great revolution 1660, when the crown became hereditary.

The form of government or constitution of Denmark, preceding that revolution.

The manner how that great revolution was produced, and the kingdom of Denmark became hereditary and absolute.

The history deduced to the present time, including the famous treaty of Travendahl.

The present state of Denmark.

The manner of taxation.

The true value of the Danish coin, as adjusted to the par of English standard.

Origin of the toll in the Sound, its nature and produce.

A tabular state of the taxes.

The natural policy of Denmark.

The military departments by sea and land.

A computation of the expence of the land forces, compared with the like in Great-Britain.

The geography of Denmark, including the continent of

Jutland, Dutchy of Sleswic, and adjacent illes, particularly Zealand.

The city of Copenhagen, its buildings, curiosities, &c. described.

The fortifications and strength of the city critically considered.

The internal trade, exchange, chartered companies, and general commerce.

A state of the money of account, current specie, and coinage.

The weights and measures of Denmark, calculated and adjusted by the French and English standard.

The Danish islands, their manufactures and commerce described.

The geography, produce and trade of North Jutland.

The same of South Jutland, or the Dutchy of Sleswic.

An account of Norway, its geography, produce, manufactures and trade.

The presumed commercial balance.

The silver mine of Koningzburg, and order of working.

The Moeskenas, or Maalstrom, critically considered.

The illes of Ferroe, their situation, produce and trade.

The same of Jutland and Greenland.

The government of Denmark, nature of its laws compared with other countries, courts of justice, judges salaries, revenue receipts, circulating

circulating cash, civil and ecclesiastic institutes, temperance and dispositions of the people.

THE whole seems to be executed with care and accuracy. It is obvious however, that a variety of materials have been consulted; and that it is a compilation from a multitude of authors. And it may be justly added, that though an epitome, it is nevertheless, the best account of Denmark in our language.

Remarks on the public service of the church, with some directions for our behaviour there, by a clergyman of the church of England. Highly proper to be understood by people of all ranks and ages. 8vo. 6d. Hooper.

THIS work carries with it all the peculiarities of that great man, who has moralized the prints of Hogarth. The directions are low and frigid; what is good is stolen from Bisse's beauty of holiness; and the whole is a discovery to what lengths a Scotch university can go, when it confers a doctor of divinity's degree upon such a wretched writer.

Remarks upon the Rev. Mr. Whitfield's letter to the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford; in a letter to the reverend Mr. Whitfield, by a late member of the university of Oxford. 8vo. 1s. Fletcher.

A Spirited and judicious answer! which deserves the character of the Roman satyrift.

"Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! et ille

"Qui me commoritur (melius non tangere, clamo)

"Flebit, & insignis tota cantabitur urbe."

HOR. Serm. lib ii. sat. i.

A treatise on the management of bees; wherein is contained the natural history of those insects; with the various methods of cultivating them, both ancient and modern, and the improved treatment of them. To which are added, the natural history of wasps and hornets, and the means of destroying them. Illustrated with copper plates. 4to. 10s. 6d.

A Very useful as well as very entertaining work; but like other ingenious performances more pleasing in theory, than easy in practice.

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T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For OCTOBER, 1768.

N U M B E R X I X .

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

THE public attention has been engrossed for many weeks past, with the paper war between Lucius* and a set of ministerial writers, or perhaps only one under different names, upon a subject so tender, and of so unprecedented a kind for the course of many years, as must justly call the resentment of the people of England, upon the head of the man who advised and executed it; I mean the dismissal of general Amherst. I will not enter into the critical moment when this step took place; as a day sooner or a day later, can only affect the politeness that should accompany every action from one gentleman to another; this is only a particular injury to the man: but the general idea of his dismissal is the immediate injury done to the public: and when the public becomes a plaintiff upon just and warrantable principles of right; it must, it ought, and it will be heard; upon this ground I have been induced to take up the pen, divested of any particular regard to Lucius: for though I admire him as a writer, I do not even guess at the man. The noble Lord, the other party in the dispute, I know enough of, to lament that power

* See Lucius' letters, page 241.

can have made him such a man. Some partiality I am not free from; but it is of that kind which I hold, and enjoy in common with many thousands of my countrymen: A partiality to merit, and services rendered to my country. This has endeared the name of general Amherst to me, by too strong a tie to be weakened by the over-grown power of arrogance of office, or the fruitless designs of its temporary Se——s to diminish. The virtues of this degraded officer's private life I will not enter into: first, because they are more the objects of the circle of his intimate friends, than of the public; secondly, because vice is of such M——l excellence, and consequently so fashionable under one meridian, that such a plea would make me be laughed at, perhaps despised, was I to name private virtues as necessary accompaniments for rank, or O——e. His public virtues are immediately the concern of his country, of which the honourable order he wears, will be an everlasting testimony, beyond the grasp of a S——y of S——te to divest him of: and surely that order so graciously and deservedly bestowed, must ever haunt the consciences of his enemies who have stripped him of the means of supporting it with dignity, merely to gratify the last will and testament of an absconded favourite. But even this treatment, insolent and opprobrious as it is, is not thought sufficient. A M——l writer who calls himself Scriptorator, has laid violent hands upon that laurel-crown which he wore green and unfaded, by the joint approbation of England and America. In this gift even England and America were united in approbation; but this new L——d in O——e must endeavour to see this mark of honour laid at his own feet, *deserve its fellow, my L——d, and wear it, is my sincere wish.*—One paragraph in this writer's letter I must take notice of. "Can Lucius produce one military exploit of sir J. A. but what twenty serjeants in this corps might have performed as well as himself." I will refer the writer to his *patron* to answer that *great question*. He certainly knew his merits or he would not in the out-set of these proceedings have distinguished that valuable officer with those titles of *great abilities, great merit and so on*. I have lived long enough to see by frequent experience, that M——l revenge is of the blackest cast. It is the first that injures, and the last that forgives. I would recommend to this noble l——d to write this motto over his office, "*chi offende non perdona*." For the advantage of the clerks I will give a translation of it. "They never pardon who have done the wrong."

Another question of this writer is, "whether sir J. A. is not blamed by his best friends and relations for what he has done."

done." I am ignorant of the blame or approbation of his best friends or relations, but as one of the public I have ever heard him commended, as he deserves to be, for refusing to be pensioned.—Pensions, or any other more sordid gratification will go down when men are voracious, or starving; but a man of honour conscious of his merits, and too tender in his feeling to put up with personal injuries, will start at the name of a pension: *Ibit qui zonam perdidit*—an undone man will take a pension of a purse.

I will not follow this writer into his comparisons between man and man in the army; the tendency is dangerous, and would be ill judged; there are many brave men who deserved well of their country in the last war, and who will always receive that tribute which English virtue gives to bravery and honour.—I, for one, will say that I would as readily use my pen in their favour, were they to be borne-down and oppressed by arrogant power to serve the sordid purpose of a moment, as I now have done in the present *singular, shamefull case*.—I will say but one word more upon this unpleasing subject,—That as it is a public cause, it deserves a public inquiry; and I trust that some men still remain unplaced, unpensioned, whose love to their country and her real friends, will solicit justice in a proper way and in a proper place in behalf of a man who served her without pillage and refused a pension, because, like an opiate, it would intoxicate him to sleep, when he wished to be active in her service.

I am yours,

One of the injured public;

L. V.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A LETTER from Mr. FRÉDÉRIC; (son of Theodore, late king of Corsica, and author of the *memoirs of Corsica*,) to his Grace the Duke of NEWCASTLE, translated from the French.

Non sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus insigniarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur. TACITUS.

My Lord Duke,

THE insurmountable difficulties, which have for a long time prevented my return to Corsica, where I have been importuned by the chiefs to go, oblige me to implore the honour

honour of your benevolence; as I find myself unable to undertake that voyage, on account of the misfortunes in which I have been involved by my attachment to the interest of his M——y, during the last war, when you was at the helm.

You are not ignorant, my lord, of the expensive measures I have taken to engage the Corsicans to submit themselves to his majesty. I have shewn my zeal at a time, which was very critical for England. The fleet commanded by admiral Byng had just been defeated; Minorca had surrendered to the enemy; the English flag was exposed to insults, and the commerce of the Mediterranean was upon the point of being ruined.

My design was to immortalize the name of the king, by rendering a people free, who had groaned for many ages under a yoke, the most grievous, and the most cruel; to procure ports convenient for the English fleet to careen and refit in; from whence they might be supplied with provisions and sailors; where they were at hand to observe the Toulon fleet, then formidable in those seas; to keep Spain, and the power of Italy in awe; in a word to re-establish its trade, its ancient lustre, its reputation, and its credit.

Such my lord, were the motives, which engaged me to propose the acquisition of Corsica, motives authorised by justice, and prescribed by interest: glory, and utility, were in this case inseparable.

You did me the honour, my lord, to approve of my project, and to applaud my zeal; and at the same time you ordered me to encourage the Corsicans to persevere in their good intentions, until effectual measures could be taken to bring a plan into execution, the success of which appeared to you of importance to Great Britain.

Nothing flatters a man more, who has a natural propensity to glorious enterprises, than to find himself applauded by persons, eminent for their dignities, their reputation, and their merit. And your approbation, my lord, gave new strength to my inclinations, and gave me room to believe, that my project would not fail to be carried into execution, especially as you had honoured it already with your patronage.

In the mean while, the Corsicans pressed me to furnish them with arms and ammunition, as soon as possible. They were obliged to take their precautions against the French troops, who were preparing to invade that island, in order to shut up the entrance of it from the English. I immediately communicated their demand to you; but seeing that the affair was delayed, I thought it proper to expedite the supply, to make use of my own credit with the merchants, for fear, lest the

the Corsicans should not be able to resist on account of the slowness of the succours.

But after the king's fleet had obtained considerable advantages over the French, and had reduced them to such a condition, that they were unable to dispute the empire of the Mediterranean, they thought no longer about the acquisition of Corsica; whether it were from an opinion that England had no longer any occasion for that island; or from an unwillingness to give umbrage to Spain, who had guarantied it to the Republic of Genoa.

I then desisted to importune the ministers, but without losing sight of my object. I applied to the king for the reimbursement of the expences I had been at to support the Corsicans, after I had received your approbation. They had been very considerable, and above my abilities, which had reduced me to the necessity of having recourse to credit. After a long application I obtained a sum very insufficient for my purpose, and even then I should not have obtained that without your interposition, of which I shall always retain a grateful remembrance.

Imagining that my project was such, that it would be resumed some other time, I thought that I should in the mean time, open a way to the Corsicans, to support themselves against the attempts of their enemies. In consequence of which, I treated with some merchants to establish a trade between England and Corsica, and to barter the products of that island for utensils, and warlike stores, of which they stood in need. As England, at a very high rate, procured the same commodities from other parts of Italy, which she might draw with less expence, from Corsica; this had such an effect, that my project was immediately approved of by messrs. *William Lewis*, and *George Jesson*, merchants at London. On this account, they petitioned the king for permission to open a correspondence with the Corsicans, and to furnish them with arms—but they were refused.

It was objected that the island, in question, was not so fertile, as I had represented it, and that the merchants could get nothing by it.

To expose this absurdity, I determined to depart for Corsica, where, upon my arrival, I freighted a vessel with the products of that country, and I set sail for England, flattering myself, that by these incontestible proofs, I could demonstrate the fertility of that island to the English, in the same manner as the Israelites convinced Moses of that of Canaan—by the fruits, which they brought from it.

But

But at my return to England, my creditors seized off the cargo. As it was not sufficient to discharge all the debts, that I had contracted on account of the Corsicans, they arrested me likewise. I am indebted, for this misfortune, to the envoy of Genoa, who was always industrious to scatter his poison for my destruction, and by ways so secret, and so subtle, that it was impossible for me to guard against them.

Every one knows, my lord, that this man, who was possessed and made use of fraud and servility, instead of wisdom and honour, had gained the favour of the chief clerk of one of the secretaries of state, and ingratiated himself very much into his confidence. By this channel, he propagated a thousand falities at my expence; he charged me with designs, which I never had, and never shall have, and forgot nothing to render me odious to the ministry; who were too wise to be unjust, and to question my integrity, which has always been the chief motive of my actions; but nevertheless, being seduced by calumniating suggestions, fell into the snare, which malice had placed for innocence. Without examining things to the bottom, without letting me know what I was wanting in; even without leaving me any means to justify myself, they became my persecutors, they hindered me from the execution of designs, the most glorious for the British nation, and the most interesting to humanity; in a word, they exposed me, without pity, to all the outrages of fortune; so that, the public, who could not penetrate into the true motives of my disgrace, seeing me used ill even by those, who ought to have been my defenders, looked upon me as a problem, which every one might solve according to his own fancy.

In spite of these disappointments, which I endured with that tranquility of soul, common to those, who have nothing to reproach themselves with; I abated nothing in my zeal for the good of England. This kingdom has the justest title to be called *the country of mankind*. For my part, I have always regarded it as my own country, from the first moment of my arrival, and especially since I have there tasted the sweets of *liberty*.—Likewise when Spain had joined with France against England, which was almost exhausted of soldiers and sailors, by her very victories, I renewed my offers with respect to Corsica, where every one, the noble, the gentleman, the tradesman and the farmer, is formed a soldier by a long habit of bearing arms. The Corsicans, my lord, are, indeed, little acquainted with military science, seldom accustomed to encampments, to form themselves in battle array, and to defend or lay siege to a place in form: but yet they
are

are invincible for courage, for patience in fatigues, for habitually bearing poverty, and the inconstancy of seasons, for the vigour of their attacks, and above all for a bravery, which had success itself cannot abate.

But my weak voice was not heard by lord Egremont, whom you ordered me to apply to. That nobleman, astonished to find me ascribing heroic qualities to a people, whom he took for *Hottentots*, looked upon all the truths I advanced upon that topic, as so many dreams, and by a fatal blindness rewarded the purity of my intentions, by a thousand hardships, entirely inconsistent with equity and decency.

As for the Corsicans, they, at last were not better rewarded for their advantageous proffers, than I had been myself. For after the conclusion of the peace, the English, instead of shewing them any marks of friendship, and co-operating for their deliverance, concerted measures with the Genoese for their destruction. They published a proclamation dated Jan. 1st, 1763, in which they prohibited the sending any succour to those islanders, and by that means hazarded their falling into slavery again.

Every one of probity, honour, and good sense, as well as the true patriots in England, murmured greatly against this proclamation; they looked upon it as degrading the majesty of the throne, as tarnishing the glory of the English nation, and as sharpening the sword against its owner; because, by these means, they openly violated the sacred laws of humanity and justice, as well as those of sound policy, in hindering thereby a people, who groaned with oppression, to shake off their yoke. A people, who in the midst of a hundred servile nations, dared to fight for liberty, for two hundred and fifty years by themselves, and without any support. A people, who had not been conquered by the Republic of Genoa, but, deceived by vain promises, had surrendered themselves to her upon conditions, which were never performed,

This Republic has pushed her authority beyond the bounds of reason. She pretends to reign over the Corsicans in a manner entirely despotic. She thinks herself above the covenants, and the fundamental laws of the state, and would have her will received as the only law. Under the delusive shew of liberty, which may be read every where in capitals, even upon the prison doors, and upon the fetters of the gally slaves, they exercise there the most frightful tyranny. She has never testified the least regard for those islanders, who are very willing to become *subjects*, but never could endure to be treated like *slaves*. She has always treated the nobles ill, insulted the clergy, deprived the towns of their privileges, and reduced the people to extreme despair, by numberless and a
bominable

dominable vexations. She has never admitted them to the management of the affairs of their own country. All posts and dignities, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, have always been conferred upon the Genoese. She never would establish public schools there, for the instruction of the youth, who are both rude and ignorant, looking upon ignorance as the strongest support of tyranny; and by a policy equally barbarous, she has discouraged husbandry, and annihilated all kind of traffic, for fear of weakening despotism by a free commerce, which always is attended with political liberty. In a word, to render their misfortune complete, she has continually loaded them with exorbitant customs and taxes, which the calls of the state did not demand, but calculated solely to glut the insatiableness of the Genoese, who like devouring vermin, are continually preying upon these wretched islanders.

Their lives and properties are at the mercy of the commissary general of the Republic, who presides over the island with sovereign authority. He makes decrees upon the spot; he there exercises, under the favour of the laws, the most horrible cruelties, punishing corporally, and condemning to death the poor innocents upon mere suspicion, and without any form of justice; at the same time authorising rapine, fire, sacrilege, and massacres. So that a Corsican is never sure of his life in his own country. A sacrifice to the avarice, and caprice of the Genoese government, he has no other existence, but what she shall condescend to grant.

The complaints and tears of this unhappy people, though sufficient to melt the most obdurate hearts, have never been able to affect the Genoese senate, to which they have so often represented their grievances. On the contrary they look on their remonstrances as so many crimes, and incroachments, or outrages against the sovereign power; so that finding themselves in so violent a crisis, and foreseeing no end or mitigation of their misery, they obeyed the call of nature, which all mankind feels, and attempted to break their chains. This was the only means, which remained to prevent the entire ruin of their country, and to procure for themselves the pleasures of an honourable, and solid tranquility. The safety of a state is the chief law.

If this be granted, can we blame the Corsicans, and stigmatize them with the name of *rebels*, for revolting after so many sufferings, against the crying tyranny of a Republic, who publicly makes a mock of all laws, divine and human; who has abused the sovereign power, in a thousand instances, of which she is no more than the depositary or steward, and has profaned the sanctity of the contract solemnly stipulated by both parties; a contract which was the only founda-
tion

tion for their subjection, upon which account, the Corsicans maintained obstinately, that the Republic of Genoa being guilty of the crime of *lese majesty* [or treason] against the state, had forfeited all the right of the crown of that island; and consequently that they were freed from their oath of fidelity and obedience; and entering again into their primitive state, they could lawfully offer themselves as subjects to whomsoever they pleased. Upon this principle they had recourse to Great Britain; they made use of me as an instrument to notify their inclinations; they offered to submit themselves to its wise laws, to turn their forces against the enemies of that power, and shed their blood generously for her.

What an humiliating spectacle must it be to human reason, to see the English nation, that is to say, the most enlightened nation in the world, which includes in its independance the seed of every heroic virtue, and which has always been esteemed the warmest protectress of liberty; to see her, I say, favouring at this time the detestable cause of tyranny, and seconding the black projects of a sanguinary Republic, which is become the horror, and the terror of all the good.

But it must be a spectacle far more astonishing to see the same nation, which appeared to have no other view, but that of establishing its empire every where, to stoop to measures evidently contrary to its true interest; measures which aggrandised the Republic of Genoa, (whose ruin Great Britain ought evidently to have meditated) who were for extirpating the Corsicans, its only, and surest support in the Mediterranean; and disturbing its trade, the only pillar of its power. The great prejudice it had received from that Republic, as well as from its allies, by their attachment to Spain, and France; the loss of Minorca owing to the assistance of Genoese sailors, which were sent expressly to the enemy to equip the fleet at Toulon, destined to invade that island, and the mischief which the Genoese might do it for the future, when sustained and set on by those two powers, should have determined England to act accordingly, and to crush that state, rather than to aggrandise it.

No one should be ignorant, my lord, that the Republic, I am speaking of, being entirely dependant upon the house of Bourbon, cannot refuse taking part against the English, and doing them all the mischief in their power. So that England, in favouring this Republic, cherishes in its bosom a venomous viper, ready to give it a mortal wound. We ought neither to be ignorant, that this house, the implacable enemy of Great Britain, looking upon its late misfortunes as a lion does upon his wounds, is only more exasperated at the sight,

and sighs only for an opportunity to revenge them with more success.

A peace made with reluctance and by force, will endure no longer than those who find themselves hurt by it, are not in a capacity to break it. France and Spain, are very much discontented, at having consented to such shameful conditions, and I dare say, that they will not long delay to shew their discontent. Their ambition is boundless, their power enormous, their resources immense, and their policy almost impenetrable. Under the external appearance of a calm, they disguise the most pernicious designs. They begin already to take wing, and like skilful artists, they make use of the most simple machines to execute their purpose. Thus they will not fail to avail themselves of the Republic of Genoa, and to secure the great advantage, which Corsica may give them to destroy the trade of England in the Mediterranean, and to remove her flag at a distance from those seas. The family compact, which closely unites and props up the great tree of Bourbon, which has as many roots as branches, facilitates the execution of this project. There can be no doubt, but this is the true motive, which engages France to send an army to the said island, under the pretext of reducing it again to its obedience to the Republic, but in reality to seize upon those fine harbours, and by that means to attain the end which she proposes to herself. Every wise patriot regards these measures as the fore-runners of a war still more cruel, than that which has been extinguished by a patched-up peace. This evil may nevertheless be easily remedied, if England by a wise foresight should anticipate what is future, and should fix her attention immediately upon Corsica; which instead of giving her a fatal and incurable wound, would contribute very much to her happiness, would afford her a more solid foundation against the shocks which she cannot fail to experience, and for those efforts, which she will be compelled to make, in order to support herself; would serve her for a magazine in times of peace, and an arsenal in time of war; would stop the arms of her enemies, and might even cut out work enough for them in their own country, especially if the Corsicans were supported by the forces of the king Sardinia.

I hope that I shall not be thought paradoxical in what I have advanced concerning the importance of Corsica; an island indeed in little esteem, because it is but very little known.

If things were examined with attention, and without prejudice; if we consider the situation and extent of this island, the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its harbours, the number of its inhabitants, their manners, their courage, and their

their love of liberty, one must immediately confess, that Corsica is very capable of presenting an agreeable prospect to the eyes of the philosopher, and the politician; that she might cut a splendid figure, and be as powerful in the Mediterranean, as Lacedæmon was formerly in Greece. Nothing is wanting but a wise architect to arrange the materials, and give the edifice a permanent form. I confess, my lord, that there are not good heads in that island, but there are a multitude of great souls; souls naturally attached to virtue; souls that are not to be shaken; and who, carried away by a noble enthusiasm for liberty, prefer the most cruel death to the horror of becoming slaves. 'Tis from this noble disposition of soul, that their heroic actions proceed, and that truly Roman constancy, which, having descended from father to son, is become as it were hereditary amongst them, and forms their distinguishing characteristic, and shews that they are the only *shoots*, or descendants in Italy, from those ancient masters of the world.

Animated by these considerations both moral and political, no less glorious than beneficial to England, and by those noble and generous regards with which, you have honoured the Corsicans as well as myself before now; I beg you, my lord, to continue to honour them with your remembrance, and furnish me with the means of returning into Corsica, whither my duty, my love, my private interest, and, I may be permitted to add, even that of England recalls me.

As you have always had the glory of his majesty, and the welfare of the nation at heart; you are always regarded as the shield of English liberty, and the professed enemy of despotic power. Besides you have considered Corsica, as a country oppressed by the perfidy of the Genoese, and as the true support of England, in the Mediterranean, where British power seems at present to be in a tottering condition; it is from these motives, my lord duke, that I have addressed you with the greater confidence, because illustrious designs have always met with the patronage of great men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following particular account of the proceedings on Friday Sept. 23, relating to the entertainment given by the city to the king of Denmark, may be depended upon as authentic.

ON Friday morning September 23, Sir Robert Lubbock, *knt. locum tenens* (the right hon. the lord mayor being

being indisposed) together with the aldermen and sheriffs, attended by the city officers, set out from Guildhall for the Three Cranes, the locum tenens being in the state coach accompanied by deputy John Paterfon, esq; (who was desired to act as interpreter on this occasion) and the aldermen and sheriffs in their respective carriages. At eleven o'clock they embarked on board the city state barge, the streamers flying, a select band of water-music playing in the stern; the principal livery companies attending in their respective barges. At the stairs leading into new Palace Yard, a detachment of grenadiers of the hon. Artillery company attended to receive the locum tenens, aldermen, and sheriffs, who, upon notice of his Danish majesty's approach, immediately landed to receive and conduct him on board. As soon as his majesty entered the barge, he was saluted by several pieces of cannon, and the joyful acclamations of the several livery companies, and a vast surrounding multitude. The locum tenens, in order to give his majesty a more complete view of the cities of London and Westminster, and of the river, and the several bridges thereon) which as well as the river itself, and the shores on both sides were crowded with innumerable spectators) ordered the state-barge to take a circuit as far as Lambeth, from whence she was steered down as far as to the Steel-yard, through the centre-arch of Westminster-bridge, and thence up to the Temple-stairs; his majesty being saluted at the new bridge both at his going and returning through the great arch, by the firing of cannon at each shore, by fises and drums, and the shouts of the several workmen above, and French-horns underneath. During the course of this grand procession on the water, his majesty frequently expressed himself highly pleased therewith, and his admiration of the several great and beautiful objects round him and sometimes condescended to come forward in order to gratify the curiosity of the people who eagerly sought to get a sight of his royal person, though at the hazard of their lives.

At the temple his majesty (being landed on a platform, erected and matted on purpose, and under an awning covered with blue cloth) was there received by some of the benchers of both societies, and conducted to the Middle-temple hall, where an elegant collation had been provided for him. His majesty after taking some refreshment, and thanking the two societies for their polite reception and entertainment of him, was conducted to the city state coach, in which his majesty took his seat, on the right-hand of the locum tenens, being accompanied in the coach by his excellency count Bernsdorff, and Mr. deputy Paterfon, attended by the sword and mace,
and

and followed by nine noblemen of his majesty's retinue, and by the aldermen and sheriffs, in a long train of carriages. From the temple his majesty (preceded by the Artillery company, the worshipful company of goldsmiths, the city marshals on horseback, and the rest of the city officers on foot) was conducted to the mansion-house; the several streets through which his majesty passed, viz. Fleet-street, Ludgate-street, St. Paul's church-yard, Cheapside and the Poultry, being crowded with innumerable populace, while the windows, and tops of houses, were equally crowded with spectators of both sexes, whose acclamations, together with the ringing of bells, and the shouts of the multitude, loudly expressed their joy at his majesty's presence. His majesty expressed his surprise at the populousness of this city, and his satisfaction at the kindness of the citizens.

At the mansion-house his majesty was received by the committee (appointed to manage the entertainment) in their marzarine gowns, who with white wands ushered his majesty into the great parlour, where, after he had reposed himself a few minutes; mr. common serjeant (in the absence of mr. recorder) made him the city's compliments in the following words:

Most illustrious prince,

"The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, humbly beg leave to express their grateful sense of your very obliging condescension in honouring them with your presence at the mansion of their chief magistrate.

"The many endearing ties which happily connect you, sir, with our most gracious sovereign justly entitle you to the respect and veneration of all his majesty's faithful subjects; but your affability, and other princely virtues, so eminently displayed during the whole course of your residence amongst us, have, in a particular manner, charmed the citizens of London, who reflect with admiration on your early and uncommon thirst of knowledge, and your indefatigable pursuit of it by travel and observation, the happy fruits of which they doubt not will be long enjoyed and acknowledged within the whole extent of your influence and command.

"Permit us, sir, to express our earnest wishes that your personal intercourse with our most amiable monarch may tend to increase and perpetuate a friendship so essential to the protestant interest in general; and so likely to promote the power, happiness, and prosperity of the British and Danish nations. And that the citizens of London in particular may ever be honoured with a share of your remembrance and regard."

To

To this compliment his majesty was pleased to return a most polite answer in the Danish language, which, by his majesty's permission, was interpreted to the company by Mr. deputy Pateron as follows:

Gentlemen,

"I am highly sensible of the kindness of your expressions to me.—I desire you will accept my best thanks in return, and be fully persuaded that I can never forget the affection which the British nation is pleased to shew me, and that I shall always be disposed to prove my grateful sense of it to them, and in particular to you, gentlemen, and this great, celebrated, and flourishing city which you govern."

Upon notice that the dinner was served, his majesty, with the Locum Tenens on his left-hand, was conducted by the committee into the Egyptian hall, where his majesty condescended to proceed quite round, that the ladies (who made a most brilliant appearance in the galleries) might have a full view of his royal person, and all the gentlemen of the common-council below an opportunity of personally paying him their respects.

His majesty being seated in a chair of state, on the right-hand of the Locum Tenens, at a table placed upon an elevation across the upper-end of the hall, with his noble attendants on the right, and the aldermen above the chair on the left, was saluted by a band of above forty of the best performers in an orchestra fronting his majesty's table.

During the dinner the following toasts were drank, being proclaimed by sound of trumpet: viz.

1. The king.
2. The queen, prince of Wales, and royal family.
3. His majesty of Denmark and Norway.
4. The queen and royal family of Denmark.
5. Prosperity to the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway.

After which his majesty was pleased to propose the following toasts, which were proclaimed in the same manner, viz.

1. Prosperity to the British nation.
2. Prosperity to the city of London.

Mr. deputy Pateron had the honour to attend his majesty as interpreter; his majesty, through him, repeatedly expressing to the Locum Tenens how much he admired the grandeur of the Egyptian hall, the brilliancy of the illuminations round it, the magnificence of the dinner, the excellence of the music, and the good order and decorum of the whole entertainment.

After dinner his majesty was reconducted into the great parlour, where he was presented with tea and coffee, and entertained

certained with solos on different instruments by several capital performers.

At eight his majesty and his retinue, after taking leave of the Locum Tenens and the corporation, were ushered to their coaches, the committee going before his majesty with wax lights. His majesty then returned to his apartment in St. James's palace, amidst the same crowd and acclamations as before, with the addition of illuminations in almost every window, that the people might have the pleasure of seeing his majesty as long as possible.

For the **POLITICAL REGISTER.**

AN INSCRIPTION

For a Monument dedicated to the Memory of
MODERN PATRIOTISM.

HERE LIETH.

WISDOM!—VIRTUE!—POPULARITY!

All that could fall!

Of the late

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM P—T, Esq.

WHO,

After having,

Under Providence,

By the Wisdom of his Counsels,

and

Firmness of his Conduct,

Rescued **THIS COUNTRY** from imminent Danger,

Threatened

By the Power, and avowed Invetaracy

Of her

FOREIGN ENEMIES;

And

Raising her to an Height of Glory unknown before;

Had gained

The Heart of his **GOOD OLD KING;**

Together with

The intire Confidence of his **FELLOW SUBJECTS;**

AT LAST

Sat down and **TAMELY** looked on,

To see **THIS COUNTRY** ruined,

By

DOMESTIC FOES.

Refrain thine **INDIGNATION!**

To do his Merit Justice,

(208)

For
Having exhibited many Years
A glorious Example
Of
CONSUMMATE GENIUS,
PATRIOTIC VIRTUE
And
UNSHAKEN PROBITY;
He was unhappily seized by AN INSANIA,
Which
In its first Attack, was scarcely perceived
By
His best Friends,
Or
Most intimate Acquaintance;
But,
In Process of Time,
Triumphed over the Imbecility
Of
OLD AGE,
Took possession of his Powers,
Of
UNDERSTANDING and MEMORY,
And
Rendered him totally incapable of
FUTURE PUBLIC SERVICE.

He
Now lieth here interred
In
C H A T H A M.
A melancholy Proof
Of
The Vanity and Weakness
Of

THE GREATEST MINDS,
When unsupported by the noble Principles
Of

TRUE RELIGION.
R E A D E R;
Profit by thine, and his Misfortunes;
Tho' dead, He yet speaketh,

*Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the SON OF MAN, in whom
there is no Help.*

*It is better to trust in the LORD, than to put Confidence in
M A N.*

*It is better to trust in THE LORD, than to put Confidence in
PRINCES.*

To

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER

S I R,

If the following observations on Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the English language come within the design of the Political Register, they are much at your service.

I am, yours, &c.

L. L. B.

Pomposo form'd on *doubtful* plan,
Not quite a *beast*, nor quite a *man*,
Like—*God knows what*—for never yet
Could the most subtle human wit
Find out a monster, which might be
The shadow of a *simile*.

CHURCHILL.

DR. Johnson's explanation of several of the following words, have at different times, and on different occasions been held out to public view.—His political principles have been marked with that contempt which they deserve, by every true friend to the interests of mankind.—His pedantry has been deservedly laughed at,—while his learning has indeed been admired.—How truly pitiable!—that learning should have made a sacrifice at the altar of a detestable party,—or indulged in the weaknesses of ignorance;—that the ambition of being approved, or even of being found consistent with common sense, should not have got the better of so low a passion, as the affectation of singularity.—What friend to liberty, can read his unjust reflection on the Whigs, and his fulsome incense offered to the Tories, without certain emotions, unknown to the fawning sycophants to the doctrine of passive obedience and non resistance?—But let this doctor give in his evidence, before you pass your judgment on his testimony.

WHIG.—The name of a **FACTION**.

TORY.—One who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state, and the apostolical hierarchy of the church of England, opposed to a Whig.

REVOLUTION.—Change in the state of a government or country. It is used among us κατ' ἐξουσίαν, for the change produced by the admission of king William and queen Mary,

How cool a representation is here of the great and glorious revolution of 1688, the very epocha of Liberty—an event

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which

which secured to us, every thing that is dear to us as Englishmen,—as members of a free state.—The principles of our government have not suffered *alone* from the pen of this writer,—he is guilty of high treason to the very language of his country.—In vain, however (we may thank our stars) hath he attempted to supplant the ease and elegance of Addison, for the bombast of the Rambler.*—Clio is admirable in every line,—but Pomposo is unintelligible and pedantic.—Had he confined his stiff and mysterious expressions to the Rambler, he would have been more pardonable,—but surely it is the greatest affront to common sense (nay a contradiction in terms) to introduce a jargon of sounds,—where he should have written down (as the phrase is) to the meanest capacity.—Justice, however, demands that he should be viewed as he appears to the naked eye,—and not through the medium of any representation.

Opiate.—Soporiferous; somniferous; narcotic, &c.

Network. Any thing reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections.

Shoeing-horn. *i. e.* Horn used to facilitate the admission of the foot into a narrow shoe.

2. Any thing by which a transaction is facilitated; any thing used as a medium.

To Squeak.—To set up a sudden dolorous cry, &c.

To Twist. *v. a.* To form by complication; to form by convolution.

To unite by intertexture of parts; &c.

† To Twist. *v. n.* To be contorted; to be convolved.

To Twitch.

* Who, to increase his native strength,
Draws words six syllables in length,
With which, assisted with a frown

By way of club, he knocks us down. Churchill.

† Twister,—one who twists,—a ropemaker,—very well,—plain and intelligible enough,—but what a whimsical (that, is, according to our author, freakish; capricious &c.) quotation is annexed by way of explaining Twist, in all its senses.—As the folio edition of this curious performance is not in every body's hands, I will give it at large.

When a *twister* a-twisting will twist him a twist,
For the twisting of his twist, he three twines doth intwist;
But if one of the twines of the twist do untwist,
The twine that untwisteth untwisteth the twist.

Untwirling

- To Twitch. To vellicate, &c.
 To Twitter. To make a sharp tremulous intermitted noise, &c.
 To Dodge. To use craft; to deal with tergiversation, &c.
 Chink. A small aperture longwise, &c.
 Correction.—Objurgation, &c.
 Line. Longitudinal extension, &c.
 Liable. Obnoxious, &c.
 Perspirable. Such as may be emitted by the cuticular pores, &c.
 Cough. A convulsion of the lungs, vellicated by some sharp serosity.
 Burying-place. A place appointed for the sepulture of dead bodies.
 To Breathe. To inspire, or inhale into one's own body, and eject or exhale out of it.

He is equally famous for his explanations of other certain words.—But in these he has rather indulged his pride and spleen,*—than shewn forth either his principles or his pedantry, as

Excise.—A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.

Favourite.—A mean wretch whose whole business is by any means to please, &c.

Gazetteer. It was lately a term of the utmost infamy, being usually applied to wretches who were hired to vindicate the court.

Untwirling the twine that untwisteth between,
 He twirls with his *twister* the two in a twine;
 Then twice having twisted the twines of the twine,
 He twicheth the twine he had twined in twain.
 The twine that in twining before in the twine,
 As twins were intwisted, he now doth untwine,
 Twixt the twain intertwisting a twine more between;
 He, twirling his *twister*, makes a twist of the twine.

- * Pomposo, with *strong sense* supplied,
 Supported, and confirm'd by *pride*,
 His comrades terrors to beguile,
 Grinn'd horribly a *ghastly smile*;
 Features so horrid, were it light,
 Would put the devil himself to flight.

Churchill.

Oats.—

Oats.—A grain in *England*, is generally given to horses, but in *Scotland* supports the people. *

Pensioner. 1. One who is supported by an allowance paid at the will of another; a dependant.

2. A slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master. †
Alias.—Otherwise, as *Simpson*, alias *Smith*, alias *Baker*; (in the 4to. edit.)—as *Mallet*, alias *Mollock*. (in the 8vo edit.)—what base passion occasioned this alteration?—revenge, or envy.—Why would he expose his private piques to the public view?—ne upon him to let such grovelling passions stain his page.

Many additions might be made to the words, I have here pointed out as exceptionable;—but let these suffice.—Sufficient evidence is collected to prove his partiality and his pedantry. The literary abilities of the author, untainted by those mean passions and low interests which appear in so glaring a manner through almost every page, were equal to the

* It is somewhat *hard* upon our northern neighbours, that our Dictionary writers give such unfavourable accounts of them.—Why is not *Tobias Smollet*, or some such universal genius set to work, to clear up their characters in some publication of the kind, expressly designed for the benefit of the ignorant, to prevent the English from receiving such *false* impressions?—*Johnson* hath levelled them with our horses.—*Thomas Cooper* in his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae* and *Britannicae*, printed 1578, thus describeth them—

Scoti, *Scottes*, or *Scottishe men*, of whom *Saint Hierome* writeth in this wise: “ Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, quum ipse
“ adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus, & quum per sylvas porcorum
“ greges, armentorum, pecudumque; reperiant pastorum
“ nates, & fæminarum papillas solere abscindere, & has solas
“ ciborum delicias arbitrari?”—*What shall I speake of other nations, since that when I was a boy, I sawe in Fraunce, Scottes, a people of Britayne eate mens fleshe, and when they founde in the forrestes hierdes of swine, beastes, and cattaille, they would cutte of the buttockes of the boyes, which kept them, and also women's pappes, and took that to be the most deyntie and delicate meate.*

† To all principles untrue,
Not fixed to *old* friends, nor to *new*,
He damns the *pension* which he takes,
And loves the *Stuart* he forsakes.

Churchill.

great

great work he had set himself about ;—but since it has received so deep a tincture of the opposite ingredients ;—let it rise or fall in every man's estimation, according as he thinks it merits the encomiums generally bestowed upon it.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

INTERROGATORIES,

Exhibited to a certain LITTLE great man, &c.

A fragment—never before made public,—and, now, offered to *any* and *all* parties.

Quest. **W**HO made you P——e M——r ?

Ans. Some little assurance, and a great deal of B——gh interest.

Quest. First let me know what kind of assurance is necessary that I may follow your righteous example ;—and secondly, what you mean by B——gh interest ?

Ans. A full confidence of abilities you are an entire stranger to is a part, though a small one, of those which are called the proper requisites to figure in any public department, but the surest is blacking the Boot of a certain *invisible agent*, and, with the right *German* ball, for that of the *English* composition will fail, and not give the right polish ; and, now, as to what I mean by B——gh interest, turn over any leaf of ——— memoirs, and you hear my opinion in Folio.

Quest. I never heard of that book—is it in print, or M. S. ?

Ans. In neither—'tis all a blank, and never, perhaps, will be wrote upon,—but 'tis gilded and lettered, well bound, and opens easily at any place.

Quest. What did your patron promise for you ?

Ans. He promised and vowed *four*, or *five*, things in my name,—first, that I should believe every article in the treaty of Fontainebleau ;—secondly, that I should rail at all G——n connexions in public—however in private, I might set my hand to them ;—thirdly, that I should with all my *might and main—right or wrong*, run down constitutional measures, and, in short, as to the rest, should do every thing becoming a man in my station.

Quest. And do you truly, and veritably, believe all the promises of your *invisible agent* of a patron will be fulfilled ?

Ans. Yea ! verily and truly I did ; but I, now, find myself in a kind of *quag-mire*, thanks be to his mis-guiding hand—
and

and when I would fain get out, every day's experience convinces me I sink the deeper.

Quest. How came you to be necessary (for I know the principal to be another sort of man) in making such a blundering and infamous peace?

Ans. Why, I'll tell you—There was no chance of a farthing of revenue from a certain corner of G——y during such a war,—and as we all of the P——y C——l (by our emissaries) had spread abroad, and made it believed, that the tenderness of a certain great man made him wish for the sheathing of each sword, we set about it;—But, between friends, the *primum mobile* was *self-interest*,—for we wanted money to build children's houses, raise vallies, sink hills, and, in short, raise a girl from obscurity to eminence and degree; when, in fact, one of equal merit, and more money (it could not have been *less*) would have been the proper step for one whose estate was already mortgaged.

Quest. But, what?

Ans. May I be d——n'd if I answer any more questions.

[Exit. grumbling.]

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

L E T T E R I.

SIR, Berwick upon Tweed, August 12, 1768.

I Am sorry to perceive that the present situation of public affairs are such (if authentically represented) as cannot fail to alarm, and engage the attention of every rational and contemplative individual, who are natives of the dominions of Great Britain, and the territories thereunto belonging.—While universal dissensions, and mutinous insurrections, have, for some time past, disturbed our tranquility, at home, we are, now, threatened with foreign hostilities from various quarters abroad.

However, sir, our great men, who, at that time, presided at the helm of national affairs, were pleased to ridicule the populace for finding fault with, or criticising on the terms of the negotiation they had thought fit (from motives best known to themselves) to conclude with our enemies; whom we had, with a vast expence, and the loss of many millions of our country-men's lives, reduced so low, as that they were rendered unable to contend with us any longer; and who, therefore, found themselves necessitated to submit to an accommodation

commodation which we certainly might *then* have made as advantageous to ourselves as we pleased; however, much, I say, sir, our mighty statesmen were inclined to sneer at the mob (as they are pleased to stile them) for pretending to adjudge the preliminaries of the peace to be inadequate to the satisfaction we ought to have obtained, and likely to be soon broke through;—it now appears too evident, that the sentiments, and predictions of the people were but too justly grounded.—I am sure, however, we have never yet experienced those genial blessings which we might, with propriety, have expected from the conclusion of so victorious and successful a war.

Notwithstanding, I have been frequently told, (my profession being that of physick) I have nothing to do with politics, by those insipid and barren geniuses, whose narrow faculties are too contracted to contemplate, or exercise their reason in any other sphere, than that in which they have been cultivated, (and perhaps, not very well in *that* neither) as I am, sometimes, blamed for writing poetry, which appears so insignificant an accomplishment to such as have not *sense* enough to write *proper prose*; notwithstanding, I say, sir, this friendly, pretended advice of those who forget the political principles of their master, Aristotle, (who was not there—from the worse physician) I have been excited to re-assume this subject from my reading in the periodical papers, a few days ago, the subsequent paragraph:

“We hear, that our minister having lately made representations at the French court, about the further demolition of Dunkirk, received for answer, that if any more complaints were made on that subject, twenty thousand men should be sent to Dunkirk directly, to re-instate those works which had already been demolished.”

Surely, sir, however wise we may think ourselves, and whatever may be the abilities of our M——rs, there is not a nation in Europe so imperceptible of future events, so easily imposed upon, or so dull to descry, or anticipate the treachery, dissimulation, and secret designs of our enemies.

It required, sir, but very little penetration to discover, that the French, in the last war, submitted to make peace with us from no other excitements than because they were not (as I have said before) in a capacity of opposing any longer the invasions of Great Britain. And as we have been *deceived* by them *so often*, it was as easy to anticipate, that they would certainly, from our giving back almost every island we had taken from them, renew their assaults as soon as ever they had repaired their fleets and armies; which, it is now, (if we have

have not lost all our senses, and I hope we have'nt) clearly demonstrable, was what excited them to put a stop to hostilities for a time; wherefore, senators of no very extensive wisdom, yet possessed of *some*, and animated with a generous and ardent zeal for the welfare of their country, and the tranquillity of their fellow-subjects; (such as of old dignified the Roman empires) would, have taken care to have bound such *slippery* offenders in the strongest chains, in order to have secured them from so speedy a revolt;—for I look upon the preceding impertinent answer to our ambassador's representations (if true) to be a sufficient *declaration of war*:—Instead of which every intelligent person must allow, that 'our peace has been absolutely nothing more than a mere *suspension of arms*, for the purposes, on the side of our enemies, before-mentioned; while we, on our part, have very *compassedly* observed them ever since augmenting their shipping, and increasing their forces both by sea and land.

The French and Spaniards have both, very artfully, (not much to our credit) amused us from time to time, with specious and superficial promises of performing the treaty they had been necessitated to sign, 'till they should accomplish their intentions, and sufficiently fortify themselves to re-attack us; while we, like easy fools, that can descry no danger 'till it overtakes us, have given credit to every thing they said; and now, having enjoyed the length of time they wanted for their purpose, when we urge the execution of their engagements, they very genteely (to use the vulgar proverb) *bid us kiss their b-kh-des*;—which was absolutely predicted by the populace long ago.

I should not at all wonder, sir, if we should become (as I fear we are *likely* to do) the laughing-stock of all the other powers of Europe. The demolition of Dunkirk has, we are told, been now absolutely refused us on the side of the French; and the payment of the Manilla-ransom will, it is probable, in a few days more, be denied us by the Spaniards, with a reprimand, that, (in the language of the French) *if we make any more complaints on that subject, twenty thousand men shall be sent immediately to invade England*; so that we must be obliged to re-take all those places we very *good-naturedly* made them a present of, after having been so *dearly* purchased, before we shall *again* bring them to know themselves, or *calmly* continue to put up with their insults; which I hope we are not, from any *pre-engagements*, under the unhappy necessity of doing.

A statesman, it is true, may be very much caressed, pro-
tempore, for submitting to such accommodations, for putting
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an end to a war so detrimental to our enemies to be continued, and be elegantly entertained with a sumptuous bill of fare, and a few bottles of champagne;—but he ought certainly rather to consider, how much a whole nation will suffer from his unjustifiable conduct, and the illegal gratification of his ambition.

Whenever a M——r, (whoever he may be) makes an *inglorious* peace, if he does not do it from a want of wisdom to execute with propriety the trust reposed in him, he ought *himself* to be ex——ted on T--r-h-ll;—and if he is really destitute of *common understanding*, or the abilities requisite for his station, he ought not, (though he be the son of a d-ke) to be charged with commissions of so great importance.

I shall, crave your indulgence of a few farther animadversions on this subject in another letter; and am,

Your sincere friend, and former correspondent,

W. R——ck,

LETTER II.

Berwick upon Tweed, August 14, 1768.

SIR,

I Now beg leave to solicit your indulgence of a few farther animadversions on the present posture of affairs;—which I observed in my last must have a tendency to alarm every speculative British subject, who hath any loyalty for the welfare and independency of these realms, or the happiness and tranquility of his country-men.

It is now sufficiently obvious, that one of the articles in the late private treaty between France and Genoa, relative to the island of Corsica, has been, that the latter should, in her turn, assist the former, whenever she should go to war with England: And it is equally conspicuous, that the same nation, in conjunction with their neighbours, the Spaniards, have, in their late accommodation with the Barbarians, prevailed upon the emperor of Morocco to commence hostilities with the king of Great Britain; so that we are likely to have four conjoined nations to contend with, for our past simplicity or r——y, which cannot be done, though we should, in the end, prove victorious, without the former expences, and loss of lives; and, in consequence, distressing, for a few years more, the inhabitants of these realms.

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However,

However, rather let us be so distressed, than tamely submit to the daring insolence, and baseful treachery of our enemies. Let us emulate the laudable zeal, and unanimous magnanimity, of the brave and heroic Corsicans; (whose kingdom should the French obtain, what would avail us the possession of Mahon, or Gibraltar) and make proper examples of all such commanders, whether of the Army, Navy, or the Legislature as shall not exert themselves like a Paoli, and, like him, that shall not have honesty enough to withstand every pecuniary bribe, or interested temptation, and be *only* solicitous to secure the welfare of the nation, and the happiness of the people.

Let us forget, or lay aside, private animosities; nor be too much busied about the punishment of a single individual, or one of our own subjects for discovering to the people some secret transactions, we would have had concealed; while whole nations of foreign enemies demand more particularly our attention: and instead of assembling our armies to massacre one another in St. George's Fields, let us, *in time*, make that use of them abroad, for which there seems to be more occasion. Let us, for a while, refrain from the cock-pit, and the turf at Newmarket, and employ our time and thoughts at more *proper* places, in consultations on concerns more worthy the humanity of rational beings, and more suited to the dignity of legislators: and what should appear to us more alarming in their consequences, than the fear of a single criminal (if he be *deserving* of this appellation) escaping that punishment of the law, which from prejudice, we would willingly have inflicted upon him.—Let private animosities, I say be forgot, that public grievances may be redressed; nor let us be too much busied about trifles, when our lives, and properties, are more immediately in danger.

Before I conclude, I would just mention the great advantages we were made to believe we had gained from the peace; which were the large (I fear, too large) and extensive territories ceded to us in America: But when we seriously consider, that the people of that country refuse to pay us the taxes levied upon them; set up their own manufactures; or if they have occasion for any importation of commodities, commission them from any other place *sooner* than England; when this is considered, let us judge, whether we are likely to reap such vast benefits from the possession of such a kingdom; besides, that they may soon grow too powerful to be subject to the authority of their mother-country; against which they have already more than once rebelled,

“ Lenitive,

"*Lentivæ, and conciliating measures*", we are told, will be adopted by government, relative to the rebellion of our colonies; which will be, I suppose, a repeal of the taxes passed in the last session of P——t, as was done with the stamp-act; which will farther tend to *encourage* them to make the same opposition in future on the like occasions, from the expectation of the same success; and make us be laughed at, for passing acts, which we afterwards agree should not have been passed—wherefore, then, were they passed?

Upon the whole,—let us not be so late as we generally are, in declaring war against any kingdom; we perceive it to be essentially necessary, as that our enemies may have time to apprise their own ships of their safety, while they *secure* our's in their harbours.

If any of our men in power, don't incline to be troubled with the fatigues and interruptions of carrying on a war, an indolent, and careless life being more agreeable to them; let them retire from publick concerns, and enjoy the extent of their wishes; and let cowards and traitors keep from the field of battle.—As I am not willing to credit the common report of our being *outwitted* by the French, (because we so *calmly put up* with their repeated insolence) I am in no manner of doubt that war must very speedily be commenced, to humble once more (I hope so, at last) that imperious, and ever restless court.

Such, are the sentiments of

Your very humble servant,

W. R——ck.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

I Know that it is a fixed principle with Mr. Wilkes, to submit to the public every circumstance, which bears any relation to his public conduct. In pursuance of this maxim, invariably followed by himself, I am sure he will forgive one of his friends sending to you, even before the *house* meets, the inclosed important *affidavit*. It relates to the infamous manner, in which the administration, in 1763, the tools and successors of the accursed *Scot*, (when in a panick the reins dropped out of his hands,) obtained the copy of part of the *Essay on Woman*, and likewise the evidence given, both at the bar of the house of lords, and in the king's bench. That administration, appear to have had no scruples about a robbery of the subject in any way, either by force under a *General Warrant*, or by fraud in corrupting a domestick, afterwards receiving themselves,

selves, and turning to their own profit, the goods another had stolen. The first was executed by the under-secretary of state, by the solicitor of the treasury, (whose house this *affidavit* proves to be a den of thieves) and the king's messengers in person; the other by the money of the treasury, distributed by their own solicitor, and the oldest of the king's messengers the most hackneyed in the ways of corruption. When this black transaction was told in France, there was not an Englishman at Paris, who did not blush for the honour of his country, except at the *Hôtel de Brancas*, where the English ambassador, the earl of Hertford then lodged. Every thing there, at that time, which was past sixteen, was likewise past blushing.

I trust, that the whole truth will at last be brought to light. This *affidavit* and *Farmer's plain truth*, published in 1763, will go a great way; but Curry seems cautious of revealing some circumstances at the beginning of the affair, and perhaps may fear he should run great risks in telling how he came by that copy, which at last he gave Faden. He may dread the consequences to himself of so ample a confession *on oath*; but I hope the whole of this wicked ministerial scene will be examined into by the *grand committee of grievances* in the ensuing session, and the living evidence of the several facts be produced. As the *house of commons* are chosen by the people to be the *grand inquest of the nation*, I think Mr. Wilkes ought to consider it as his duty to make the appeal to them. It seems to me as strictly in the business, for which a *grand committee of grievances* are appointed every session, as the other affair of the *alteration of the records* in a criminal cause by a judge in his own house, falls within the province and jurisdiction of the *grand committee of courts of justice*.

This *affidavit*, tells us how a small part of the public money has been bestowed on one ministerial agent. Hereafter you shall have the account of a good many thousand pounds; for, a great personage complained, in February last, that *Wilkes had cost him ninety two thousand guineas*, which I prophecy will, under some general head of expence, be begged by a *gracious message* to the present house of commons, and carefully kept out of the infinite debts of the civil list, when they are laid before parliament.

I shall now, content myself with saying, that, in our times, no man has suffered such base and cruel wrongs as Mr. Wilkes, only for a spirited opposition to a despotic minister; that against no man have such mean, treacherous and dishonourable methods been pursued, that every party and faction has in their turns oppressed him, which I hold to be the strongest proof, that he is of no party or faction; but I add, to his glory, that
his

his country has seen and acknowledged his services, that the people have been his buckler and shield, that the nation have a full confidence in his spirit and firmness, to stem the torrent of arbitrary proceedings, and to oppose all illegal precedents of power; that they have given him the most endearing marks of esteem and gratitude, and that, while alive, those honours have been lavished on his name, which envy rarely suffers to be paid but by posterity, and only to the lovers of their country, and the guardians of public liberty.

A F F I D A V I T.

MICHAEL CURRY of St. Peter's Mancroft in the city of Norwich, Printer, maketh oath and faith, that in the month of May one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, he was hired by John Wilkes, Esq; of Great George-street, Westminster, at the rate of twenty-five shillings per week; that he lived in the house of the said Mr. Wilkes, was boarded and regularly lodged there; that he was employed by the said Mr. Wilkes, in several things about his private press; that the said Mr. Wilkes, employed this deponent to compose and print part of a poem, entitled, *an Essay on Woman*; that the said Mr. Wilkes gave this deponent the strictest charge to keep it secret, and to suffer no person whatever to see the said poem; that the said Mr. Wilkes ordered this deponent to work off only twelve copies, which were all to be delivered, and were actually given to the said Mr. Wilkes himself, but that without the knowledge of the said Mr. Wilkes, this deponent worked off another copy for himself; that from the carelessness of this deponent four pages only of the said poem came into the hands of one Jennings, who likewise worked at the said Mr. Wilkes's; that by the means of this Jennings it was shewn to Mr. Farmer, Mr. Faden, and the Rev. Mr. Kidgell; that the first application made to this deponent was by Farmer, who came, as he pretended, on his own curiosity, to see the rest of the poem called *an Essay on Woman*, having seen some part of it in the hands of Jennings, which, Jennings, he said, told him, he had from the house of the said Mr. Wilkes; that this deponent would not then shew Farmer any thing; that a few nights after Farmer called again on this deponent; that they retired to St. John's Gate coffee-house; that Farmer repeated he had some parts in black; that this deponent then said to Farmer, that no poetry had been done in black at the said Mr. Wilkes's, and therefore Jennings must have come by those verses at some other house, the parts of the

Essay

Essay on Woman being in red, which this deponent said to evade, although the proofs were in black; that Farmer told this deponent, he wanted it to oblige a roman catholick gentleman, and that he would give two guineas, or any thing, to get it; that he actually laid down two guineas, which this deponent refused, and told Farmer that he was not upon an honest design; that he could not conceive for what reason a roman catholick gentleman particularly should offer two guineas, or any sum, for what Farmer must know was not from the quantity worth six-pence; that this deponent then paid for the pint of beer before him, telling Farmer that if he would call the sunday morning following this deponent would speak to the purpose, and then quitted the house; that this deponent then discovered the affair to a friend, and when Farmer came to this deponent on the sunday, this deponent told him that he had destroyed the copy, and that he hoped that would end any further visit on that head; that the next day this deponent waited on Mr. Churchill; that this deponent asked him if any harm could come to Mr. Wilkes, or this deponent, for the *Essay on Woman*; that Mr. Churchill said there could not, but for any thing the people in power could do they might be damn'd; that however he would write to Mr. Wilkes, who was then in France; that the next application was by Haffell, the overseer of Mr. Faden, who desired this deponent would go to the globe tavern, as Mr. Faden wanted to speak to this deponent on some business; that this deponent accordingly went; that when Faden and this deponent were alone, Faden informed him, that Farmer had given him a few pages of an *Essay on Woman* which the said Faden had shewn to a clergyman, and that clergyman to a nobleman, and that if this deponent would oblige him with a copy of the whole for that nobleman he would be this deponent's friend, and was positive, that the person, as he was in power, would make an ample provision for him this deponent; that this deponent pretended ignorance of the whole at this meeting, that another meeting was soon after had with the said Faden at the said globe tavern; that the said Faden promised this deponent he should be taken care of, and if he would give the said Faden a copy of the *Essay on Woman*, this deponent might have any sum he named, or any place he should name, which it was in their power to get; that several other meetings were had between the said Faden and this deponent; that the same offers were repeated, and ten, twenty, a hundred guineas, or any sum, would be given as a security that the copy should be returned; that Mr. Wilkes was all this time in France; that there was a strong report that Mr. Wilkes intended to prosecute this deponent for felony, in
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having stolen a copy of the *Essay on Woman*; that this deponent applied to see Mr. Wilkes on his return from France, and was refused by his servant; that soon after, the applications to this deponent were renewed by the said Faden and the said Hassel; that he was desired to name any sum; that he might depend on being supported from any injury he might apprehend, and firmly rely on being protected by those in power; that otherwise he might be prosecuted for having printed the copy; that afterwards the reports of this deponent's being to be prosecuted by Mr. Wilkes for felony gaining ground, this deponent in a passion went to the said globe tavern, sent for the said Faden, and gave him the copy, saying, he hoped that he should be taken care of, as he found he was not safe either in keeping or destroying the copy; that the said Faden then gave him five guineas as a security to return him the copy, and promised him protection; that this deponent went with the said Faden on the same evening to the house of Philip Carteret Webb, Esq; solicitor to the treasury, in Great Queen-street, where was the rev. Mr. Kidgel; that the said Webb bid this deponent be easy, for that he should be provided for; that this deponent afterwards for several weeks lodged and boarded in the said Webb's house; that this deponent was often told by the said Webb that government would take care of him, if he would give evidence on the trials against Mr. Wilkes; that he must remain staunch, and that directions, as to what this deponent should say on the trials, were given him by the said Webb; that a few days before the meeting of the parliament, the said Webb bid the said Faden take this deponent out of town; that accordingly the said Faden and this deponent went first to Hounslow, then to Hampton-Court, and afterwards to Knightsbridge, till the morning the house sat, when they went to the horn tavern in Westminster, where were the said Webb and the said Kidgel, and from thence to give evidence before the house of lords; that the said Webb a few days afterwards carried this deponent to the *Earl of Sandwich*, who was then secretary of state; that his lordship said to this deponent, You have saved the nation, and you may depend on any thing that is in my power; that this deponent said he was without money, to which his lordship replied, he must not hear that; that the said Webb added you had no occasion to mention that; that at the bottom of his lordship's stairs the said Webb ordered this deponent to go to Mr. Carrington, one of the king's messengers; that this deponent accordingly went to the said Carrington's, who gave him a guinea and an half, for which this deponent gave a receipt in these words, *For subsistence, for which I shall be accountable, or*

to that effect; that the same payment of a guinea and an half was continued for about twenty-five weeks by the said *Carrington*; that the said *Carrington* said the reason why he took receipts was, that he was answerable to the government for that money; that this deponent was assured by the said *Webb*, from time to time, that he should be amply provided for; that this deponent was afterwards employed by the said *Webb* to compromise the edicts with the other Printers, which this deponent did for the other Printers at the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds each; that this deponent had received nothing from the said *Carrington* for some time before the verdicts were compromised; that he received for his own share two hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, which the said *Webb* declared was for the trouble, and satisfaction for what had been done; that then this deponent finding no more money coming from the said *Carrington*, and his life being made very uneasy to him at London, retired into the north.

MICHAEL CURRY,

Sworn at the Mansion-house,

in London, the 3d of August,

1768, before THOMAS HARLEY, Mayor.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

M A X I M S.

Qui capit ille facit.

A People may forsake their king, and still continue a people; but if a king loses his people, he is no more a king.

If a king suffers his passions to get the ascendant of his reason, he is like a ship without a rudder or a pilot, and is as much exposed to his ministers as a vessel to the winds.

The king who sets up his will against the laws of the land, wages war with his best friends.

If kings would consider how liable they are to be misled by their ministers, they would be more circumspect in the choice of them than they generally are.

When the king changes ministers and not measures, he is like a sot who only changes his liquors and not his manner of living.

The king who confides in a minister that has once deceived him, is like a dupe in the hands of sharpers.

A wise king will never confer his favours on his courtiers in such a manner as to lose the favour of his subjects; nor will he protect a villain at the hazard of losing the hearts of all honest men.

The king who wakes for his people's good, sleeps in security without a guard.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

TRANSLATION of a treaty for appeasing the troubles of the Republic of Geneva, approved of by the Sovereign General Council, March 11, 1768. By a majority of 1204 to 23.

Nunc Patriæ Pietas exhibetur: Cujus Majestati, etiam illa quæ Deorum Numinibus æquatur, Auctoritas Parentum, Vires suas subjicit: Fraternal quoque Charitas æquo Animo ac libenti cedit, summa quidem cum Ratione. Quia eversa Domo, intentatus Reipublicæ Status manere potest: Urbis Ruina Penates omnium trahat secum necesse est. Verum quid attinet verbis ista complecti? Quorum tanta Vis est ut tam multi ea Salutis suæ Impendio testati sint.

VALER MAX.

MY Lords the Syndics, the less and grand council, desiring with the greatest ardour to put an end, as soon as possible, to the dissensions, which have so long disturbed the Republic, and to procure the return of confidence and harmony, have been obliged to take into consideration the propositions made for so salutary an end, and which were presented to my lords the Syndics, the fifteenth day of the present month. The said Syndics of the lesser and the grand councils, after having deliberated thereon at the two separate times, have approved of the following articles; and have been of opinion to propose them to the magnificent, and sovereign general council, which shall be convoked for that purpose on Friday the eleventh of this month, to know whether they approve thereof, and give their consent thereunto.

A R T I C L E. I.

§ 1. The lieutenant and treasurer shall not be elected but from such of the lesser council, as are actual members, or liable to be elected; and the auditors and the attorney general shall not be chosen but from such citizens, as are actual members of the council of two hundred, or qualified to be elected among them.

§ 2. In case all the actual members of the lesser council, eligible and approved by the bench for the office of lieutenant or that of the treasurer, shall have been rejected by the general council, or there shall not remain a number sufficient to complete the nomination; they shall proceed as for the election of Syndics, by presenting together to the general council, all the actual and eligible members of the lesser council;

cil; without a new election; in which case the approbation of the bench shall not be renewed; and all the counsellors that are eligible, shall be presented to the council-general, in the same manner as has been the custom of former benches, for approbation.

§ 3. The council of two hundred, may grant to the counsellors of the lesser council their exemption from being nominated for the office of Syndic; but in case it is necessary to present together, to the general council, all the actual and eligible members of the lesser council, without a new election, the exemptions which shall have been granted, shall have no effect. The council of two hundred may likewise grant to the counsellors of the lesser council, their exemption from being nominated to the offices of lieutenant and treasurer, and that exemption shall be valid, even though all the members, actual or eligible of the lesser council, must be presented to the general council, without proceeding to a new election for either of those offices.

§ 4. With respect to the election of auditors and the attorney-general; in case that the actual and eligible members of the two hundred, which shall be approved of by the bench, shall be rejected; or there shall not remain a number sufficient to complete the nomination; they shall be presented altogether to the general council without a new election; in which case, the bench of approbation shall not be renewed; and all the members that are eligible shall be presented to the general council, according to the custom of preceding benches, provided nevertheless, with respect to these offices, the lesser and grand councils shall not be obliged to present such, two whom the two hundred shall have granted their discharge, and such as shall have submitted to the penalty of those who decline the office.

§ 5. To remedy the inconvenience, which has place in the election of Syndics and Auditors, with respect to casting up the lists, in which an elector has given one or more votes, at the same time crossing the line for a new election; for the future in the casting up the lists, they shall not as heretofore, give the votes of a new election against all the candidates without distinction, but only against those which the electors would reject. For this end, instead of the general column of a new election, which was heretofore set upon the papers for ballotting, every candidate shall have upon the said papers his particular column for rejection, upon which shall be marked the votes of a new election, which are against him. And to determine whether he shall be rejected they shall balance the said votes of rejection with the votes of approbation, which he shall have had,

§ 6. If two persons of the same name and family, or the two secretaries of the council have the majority of votes for the office of Syndic, in the case where all the members of the council are presented together to the general council, without a new election; he that shall have the fewest of the two shall not be elected; and the two candidates who shall have the most votes next to him shall be presented to the general council, for them to return one of them.

§ 7. The election of treasurer shall be at the same time, as that of lieutenant and auditors, and after he shall have exercised his office three years, if the council shall think proper, he may be continued three years more, by referring it to the two hundred, or general council; who may approve or reject him.

A R T I C L E II.

§ 1. The discharges granted by the lesser and the great council to the Syndics, lieutenant, treasurer, auditors, or the procurer general, must be carried for confirmation to the general council; but the lesser and great council shall continue to grant discharges to the counsellors of these two councils, let their creation be what it will.

§ 2. In case of a vacancy in the offices of the treasurer, auditor, attorney general, whether by death, or discharge, or by promotion to some other office, or by some criminal sentence, or any other cause; the general council shall substitute one for the remainder of the term, without prejudicing or hindering such substitute to offer himself afterwards for the said office, but, if there remain no more than six months of the office of Auditor, no one shall be substituted; and the business of the Auditor whose seat shall be vacant, shall be shared by his colleagues.

A R T I C L E III. *Of the election of the two hundred.*

§ 1. The promotion shall be declared publicly, when there shall be two places vacant in the council of three hundred, and it shall consist only of fifty members, even after, in the interval between the opening of the promotion, there shall be more than fifty places vacant.

§ 2. In every promotion the general council shall have the election of five and twenty persons; and shall proceed thereunto in the manner following.

§ 3. Sometime before every promotion, every citizen and burghers, being five and twenty years complete, and invested with the right of voting in the general council, shall be invited to come and enroll, or to cause his name to be enrolled

in the chancery, if he is desirous of being admitted into one of the divisions, which shall be explained hereafter.

§ 4. At every promotion, there shall be formed, by way of lot, four equal divisions of all the citizens and burgessees enrolled in the chancery, who shall not be members of the lesser or the grand council, or of the company of pastors, nor shall be tithing-men; and then shall likewise be separated by lot in every division an equal number, as great as possibly can be, from the members of the lesser council, from those of the grand council, and from the members of the company and the tithing-men. Every one of the three first divisions shall not be elected by lot, before the day before their meeting; and those who compose the fourth, which shall be determined by the balot of the third, shall not be declared to the public, before the day preceding that day, when this fourth division ought to meet.

§ 5. These four divisions, always presiding by one Syndic, shall have together the nomination of fifty citizens, or lay burgessees, admissible by law to the council of the two hundred; into which, notwithstanding, a person may be admitted at the age of twenty-seven years complete. The division that shall be elected the first by lot, shall name forty, and the three others twelve each.

§ 6. These divisions shall be assembled by the order of council on different days, as soon as may be, and in such manner that the entire election may be finished in six weeks, to commence from the declaration of the promotion.

§ 7. No one can be admitted to the assembly, nor give his vote, but in the division in which his lot shall have placed him.

§ 8. If any question concerning the right of voting, or eligibility of a person shall be stated in the assembly; it shall be decided on the spot by those who are invested with the power of tellers by § 13. But this provisional determination shall have no other effect, than that of actual business.

§ 9. Business shall be proceeded upon at the very instant, in which the Syndic and counsellors, coming according to the usage of the assembly, shall have taken their place; and they shall administer to them the following oath, which shall be read;

“ We promise and swear before God, to nominate such persons to these offices which we think to be fit; and that in nominating we will have regard to the public welfare, and not to any particular affection of hatred or favour; as likewise of neither having made interest, nor caused interest to be made, of having neither recommended, nor caused to be recommended, and to have had no regard to any interest or recommendations, which may have been made to us. We call
God

God to witness to the truth of this declaration, and submit ourselves to punishment if we act contrary thereunto.

§. 10. Every elector in the first division shall nominate, by writing, seven citizens or lay burgeses, and in the three other divisions every elector shall nominate six, which may be chosen from all the citizens and burgeses in general, that are eligible.

Every list, or paper, in which fewer persons are nominated than ought to be, shall be void: But if there shall be any lists in the first division, wherein more than seven persons are nominated, only the seven first persons shall be allowed. And to expedite this business, every elector shall receive a blank, signed by the president Syndic, upon which there shall be as many figures as there are persons to be nominated, that he may write, or cause to be written at the side of each figure the name of that person whom he would nominate.

§. 11. In these nominations, the restrictions and limitations made by the edicts, concerning the election of the council of two hundred shall be observed, and the lists that are not conformable thereunto shall be void; excepting nevertheless those lists, wherein the subjects are accountable and indebted to the seigneurie, or, who shall not be heirs from their fathers, shall be found nominated, shall be void; but the nomination of those who shall be affected by this clause of exclusion, shall not be reckoned.

§. 12. If the number of persons, which may sit or enter at once in the council of two hundred, has been filled up by the election, which the general council shall have made from the nomination of one division; the other divisions cannot nominate citizens or burgeses, because they shall become inadmissible by such election.

§. 13. The counting of the lists shall be done by the presiding Syndic, by the senior member of the council, by the senior pastor, by the senior member of the council of two hundred, by the senior tithing-man, which shall be present at the said assembly, and by the six citizens or burgeses of that division, which shall first be drawn out of the wheel; who shall take oath to count the votes faithfully, without revealing the names. After the computation, the Syndic shall declare the names of twenty citizens, or burgeses, who shall have had the most votes; and those twenty shall be declared.

§. 14. If in determining the twenty elected, there shall be found to be more persons who have an equality of votes, they shall be entered in the return.

§ 15.

§ 15. With respect to those who are thus returned, the assembly by a second election, like that which has been declared § 10. shall retain fourteen of them in the first division, and twelve in each of the three others. The rule, touching the lists in which more or less persons are nominated, mentioned in § 10. shall be applied to this case; and the fourteen or twelve, who shall have the most votes, shall be returned, as those who are nominated, to the general council.

§ 16. If in the taking the numbers for this nomination any of those who are returned, shall be related to any of the *surveyors*, [voyans] either as a father, father-in-law, or brother-in-law, or if one of the six citizens, or burgeses, that are *surveyors* [voyans] shall have been returned himself, or have excused himself from that office, the recusants shall be replaced by the counsellors, pastors, or members of the two hundred, by those who followed them in the order of the table, and the tithing-man, by him who is the eldest in office next to him: and the six citizens and burgeses, who shall have come out of the wheel next to them.

§ 17. If in the nomination there shall be an equality of votes, the distinction shall be made by lot immediately.

§ 18. If one or more persons decline the return, or find themselves disqualified to be returned, their place shall be filled, by him or them, who shall have the most votes next to them.

§ 19. The return shall be presented about the day before, to the general council without any notice for a new election. They shall administer the oath of election according to the tenor of § 9. for this purpose; and every elector shall choose a part of the candidates then present. Every list which shall contain less than its portion shall be void: And with respect to those which shall contain more, they shall follow the rule prescribed § 10. After counting the numbers, the choice of those, who shall have the most votes, shall be published immediately.

§ 20. After the general council shall have finished its four elections, the lesser council shall proceed to that of five and twenty other members, according to the usual custom, after having administered the oath for that purpose.

§ 21. Precedency shall be given to the elected who shall be twenty years complete, according to the regulation made for that purpose, as if they had been elected at one single voting only, they who are not thirty years complete, shall be placed after them, and their rank shall be regulated according to their age.

§ 22. None of those who are elected shall be offered to the bench of approbation on account of his being elected ; but all shall be subject to the annual confirmation which the lesser council shall continue to make to the council of two hundred.

If notwithstanding, the name of a member of the council of two hundred, who shall have been elected by the general council, shall be omitted, such omission shall have no effect till it be confirmed by the general council, at least if the cause of omission be not expressly founded upon law.

§ 23. No member of the two hundred can be invested with an office of judicature, before he shall be thirty years complete ; but under the title of an office of judicature, shall not be comprehended the clerks of justice, nor the secretaries of the different chambers.

§ 24. All the edicts, which concern the election of the council of two hundred, which the present regulation doth not abolish, shall continue to be observed and put in force.

A R T I C L E IV.

§ 1. In case the election of the syndics shall have been made or completed upon the presentation of all the counsellors, both actual and eligible, without proceeding to a new election, the general council shall be assembled the thursday following, to determine whether there is any room to proceed to the re-election of the lesser council.

§ 2. If the general council, by the majority of votes given by list, determine that there be room to proceed to such re-election, all the members of the lesser council, excepting the four syndics, the senior syndics, the lieutenant and the treasurer, shall be presented to the general council, the sunday following without a new election, together with four citizens members of the council of two hundred ; and after that every elector shall have taken the oath of election, the general council shall retain so many, by a majority of votes, as are necessary to complete the lesser council : In which case the re-election made by the general council shall serve for that year, instead of the election made annually by the general council.

§ 3. The four members of the council of two hundred, who shall be presented to the general council, together with the counsellors of the lesser council, shall be nominated the friday after the election of the Syndics by the council of two hundred. For which purpose, every counsellor of the council of two hundred, shall return by his own choice and list,
four

four members of the said council, that are citizens ; and the Syndic then president shall enter the names of the eight who shall have the most votes. This being done, every member of the two hundred shall nominate two of those eight ; and the four who shall have most votes shall be presented to the general council, together with the counsellors of the lesser council.

§ 4. If it should happen that any members of the lesser council should not be elected and confirmed in a general council, by a majority of votes, they shall continue, nevertheless, members of the council of two hundred, and of that of sixty ; and may be elected members of the lesser council again.

If the said members, having been again elected counsellors, be excluded a second time by the preference which the general council may give to others, they shall not be eligible any more to the office of counsellor.

Likewise, if, during the time that they remained members of the two hundred, they shall have been once of the number of the four which were presented to the general council, together with the counsellors, of the lesser council, and should not then be elected counsellors by the general council ; they cannot be presented thereunto a second time for the same purpose.

§ 5. The law enacted in this article, with respect to re-election, shall not begin to be in force 'till the year 1773 ; and only in the case assigned in § 1. Excepting in this case, that the election of the lesser council, and the annual confirmation of its members shall continue to be made as formerly, and according to the edicts. But in the case, where the council of the two hundred shall be excluded by holding up of hands, any member of the two hundred, who shall have entered into the council by the election of the general council, according to the tenor of this article, such exclusion shall have no effect without the confirmation of the general council.

A R T I C L E V.

§ 1. The four Syndics, the lieutenant, the senior Syndics, the treasurer, the first auditor, the attorney general, and the two members of the two hundred chosen by lot, not refusing, shall assist at the casting up the poll for the annual revision, made by the two hundred, of the members of the lesser council.

§ 3 All other returns shall be cast up in the manner of article 9. entitled *the manner of executing the edict*, contained in page 66. of the political edicts.

ARTICLE

A R T I C L E VI.

AN ECLAIRCISSEMENT upon the subject of official Imprisonments; with respect to citizens, burghesses, natives and inhabitants.

§ 1. The councils, syndics, lieutenant, and auditors of justice, may cause to be seized and arrested, every person against whom there shall be plaint or charge relative to an offence. But in future, no citizen, burghers, native, or inhabitant, can be imprisoned *ex officio*, 'till after being brought, if he demands it, to one of the Syndics; or to the lieutenant, or council; provided, that the writ of arrest shall have proceeded from the said council; the auditor who shall have arrested him shall give him that offer; and he may cause the said prisoner to be conducted under good and sure guard, if he judge it necessary. If the council were not sitting when the prisoner shall have been arrested by its order, or shall not think proper to hear the said prisoner itself, it may charge one of the Syndics, or the lieutenant, with the imprisonment.

§ 2. The Syndic, or the lieutenant, to whom the prisoner shall have been brought, as well as the council, in case the writ of arrest shall proceed from thence, and when it shall judge it proper to hear him itself, after having heard the report of the auditor, and examined, and interrogated the prisoner, shall order the imprisonment, if there be occasion, or the release.

§ 3. In case the prisoner shall have been brought before one of the Syndics, or to the lieutenant, the auditor shall issue a verbal process of what shall have passed in his presence; and those magistrates shall be bound to inform the council thereof, that very day, or at its next sitting, of the motives of imprisonment or release, and to report thereunto the verbal process of the auditor, as well as the informations by writing, if there be any; that the council may consequently decree that which is right.

§ 4. The prisoner can never demand to be brought before one of the syndics, or the lieutenant, in case of a flagrant crime, or quarrels attended with bloodshed, or a great and evident wound.

§ 5. After imprisonment, the criminal process shall follow in conformity to the edicts, even though the council cannot have any cognizance thereof.

A R T I C L E VII.

§ 1. If the council find the case of a person accused be not heinous enough to be treated, and prosecuted, according to the process prescribed under title 12, of the civil edict, and article 30, of the regulation of 1728; and if they think that the said case may be drawn up, and judged in a summary manner; they shall give notice thereof to the criminal, who

shall have the liberty of demanding them to make use of the said process with respect to him.

§ 2. In all cases which shall be found by the council of such a nature, as to be treated according to the purport of the said 12th title, and article 30, or in which the criminal shall have demanded it, the advocate shall join issue; and he may, during the course of the process, make such requisition as he shall judge fit.

§ 3. In every case in which he shall be absent, sick, or decline to be challenged, the council, shall continue to appoint, or substitute another in his room, according to custom.

A R T I C L E VIII.

§ 1. To render the challenging of syndics in criminal causes more rare, and that the courts who shall be called to take cognizance thereof, be not too much deprived of judges; for the future, challenges in criminal matters shall not extend below the children of cousin-germans; exclusive of relations of the same name and family, who shall be challenged, of what degree soever they be,

§ 2. If notwithstanding this restriction in the challenging of judges, the four syndics shall find themselves liable to be challenged, he that is the least liable to be challenged among the syndics, and those who shall have been invested with that office for three years before, shall be president in the court; and if such president shall not have been a syndic, he shall be judged to be freed from the oath which he took when he came to the office of syndic; and the wand, or baton, shall be sent him again by one of the syndics, for pronouncing sentence.

A R T I C L E IX.

§ 1. The subjects of the Republic shall enjoy the right of applying to the council of two hundred, in the same manner as it is granted to the citizens, natives, and inhabitants, by article 31. of the regulation of 1738. Foreign criminals shall likewise enjoy the same right, after they are capitally condemned; and the council may admit them to this recourse for every other punishment, when it shall be judged convenient; in which case they shall observe the usages prescribed by article 31, aforesaid.

§ 2. No citizen, burghers, native, inhabitant, or subject of the public, can have recourse to the council of two hundred, if he shall not have been condemned by the definitive judgment of the lesser council to imprisonment for six months, to banishment for one year, to suspension of the honourable rights of a burghers during five years, or have been declared infamous in express terms; or condemned to any other punishment more capable than any of these, without derogating in

in the least from the process, prescribed by article 31, aforesaid.

ARTICLE X.

§ 1. The syndics, lieutenant, and the auditors, when it is proposed to arrest or conduct any prisoner or malefactor, or any who shall disturb the public peace, and they shall not have a sufficient number of officers, may call in the soldiery from one of the posts of the garrison, to the number of six, to their assistance. But the said soldiers shall not be employed in the city for such purpose, but in the presence, or under the authority of the magistrates aforesaid; excepting in such cases where the parties themselves shall call in the guard or patrol to their assistance. The patrol, may likewise, as heretofore, arrest and conduct to the guard-house, those who disturb the public safety and tranquility.

§ 2. With respect to the out-parts of the city, the patrols of the garrison, may continue to be employed for the safety and police of the city precincts; but they shall not enter into any house, without order, in writing, from the syndic of the guard, and unless for search after malefactors, which shall be done in the presence of the *tithing-man*, or deputy tithing-man of the place, or in their absence, by some person known in the neighbourhood, who shall assist in the search, that shall there be made; excepting nevertheless, when the parties themselves shall call in the guard, or the said patrols to their assistance: and all the soldiers of the said patrols shall have some distinguishing mark, whereby they may be known again.

ARTICLE XI.

§ 1. The lesser council shall admit, this present year, to the honour of burghesses, twenty natives chosen by lot, four of which shall be sons of inhabitants, and six the sons of natives, grandsons of inhabitants, or of the most ancient families of natives, and in the four successive years, the council shall admit five by lot, to the honour of burghesses; of which one shall be the son of an inhabitant, and four the sons of natives, as aforesaid; without prejudice to others, whom the council shall be willing to receive in the usual method.

§ 2. The natives, who shall aspire to the honour of a burghess, shall apply themselves by petition to the council; which, after having seen the opinion of the attorney general thereupon, shall cause to be drawn by lot, from the number of those who shall be found admissible, twenty natives of the first year, and five in each of the four years succeeding, observing the proportions prescribed in the paragraph preceding.

§ 3. This manner of admitting the natives to the degree of burghers by lot, shall be observed only during five years ; after which the council shall receive five natives every year, always including among them the son of an inhabitant, and proceeding to such a choice in the usual manner.

§ 4. During the first five years, the council shall not demand more than four thousand florins from every one of the natives, who is son of an inhabitant, for his admission as a burgher; and with respect to the sons of natives, the sum shall be diminished, five hundred florins for every generation of antiquity; and with respect to the sons of natives, it shall be diminished in the proportion established as aforesaid. Leaving it nevertheless, to the prudence of the council to moderate the fine with respect to personal abilities and merit.

§ 5. Every one of these new burghers shall, moreover, pay for an assortment of arms for the arsenal, and an hundred florins towards the library, besides the usual expences which are paid into the chancery.

§ 6. The natives, masters of different professions, may trade in the commodities of their respective professions, and such as relate thereunto, which are made in the city, conforming themselves to the regulations of their said professions, and to the laws of commerce, they may likewise execute such commissions as they receive from abroad.

§ 7. The natives may be admitted physicians, surgeons, apothecaries; and exercise the said professions, conforming themselves to the regulations. They shall likewise be admitted to one of the places of the livery, in all liveries wherein there shall be more than one liveryman: provided nevertheless, that the burghers shall have a preference to the same right.

§ 8. The dues, established by the regulations, and ordinances, payable to the treasury by the natives, for their admission to professions and liveries, shall not be paid by them, but when they shall take up their said freedom or liveries.

A R T I C L E XII.

§ 1. All the edicts, which the present regulation does in no wise derogate from, shall continue to be observed and enforced conformably to what is practised at present; but, after that the general code of edicts shall be made, no other usages and customs shall be received, but such as shall not be contrary to the edicts.

A R T I C L E XIII.

§ 1. The lesser and grand councils shall examine next, and when the estate of the finances shall appear to them to give them leisure, if it be convenient to augment the honorary members of the council; provided nevertheless, that the sum, which makes the distinction between the honorary syndics

edics and the counsellors, be the same as that which has place at present.

A R T I C L E. XIV.

§ 1. To procure a perfect establishment of peace and harmony, whatsoever may be said or done worthy of reprehension, with respect to the present dissensions, shall be buried in utter oblivion. Willing that no one, under any pretext, shall be called in question for the future, for any thing that has been said or done to this day, relating to the dissensions aforesaid; providing nevertheless, that nothing be decreed concerning the sentences which have been pronounced previous to the present edict.

March 9, 1768.

J. J. CHAPEAURONGE.

S O N G.

IN the shade of my vine as I lay,
The swains all around me asleep,
My fancy was winged to stray,
I attended no longer my sheep.
My Phillis was gone from the plains;
With Phillis all beauty was fled:
What praise could enliven my strains,
What worth should I sing in her stead?
For no shepherd can find such a fair,
Though he search thro' the dwellings above,
Yet, sure, if such beauties there are,
No shepherd can equal my love.
Who now shall I sing on the reed,
(O my fairest! forgive me the strains)
If not those who gave peace to the mead,
With freedom and joy to the swains?
I will fetch from my garden the rose,
With the violet, emblem of truth;
Let me cull from each fragrance that grows
All such as are freshest in youth.
With these I'll embellish the grave
Where Sidney (ah, Sidney!) is laid;
A verse on the stone I'll engrave,
That the shepherds may gratefully read.
Her beauties too nature shall yield,
In all that with odour can bloom;
The sweetest, the best of the field,
O Hampden! shall grace thy fair tomb.
Nor Ruffel, the noble, forgot,
Though thy sons have disgraced the line,
The laurel I'll weave in the knot,
Which around thy dear bust shall entwine.

But

But let me with reverence kneel
 O'er the grave of the greatest in verse
 I give not the ardour I feel ;
 It would but encumber thy hearse.
 Do I wish to increase thy fair praise,
 O Milton ! the father of song :
 If I add but a leaf to the bays
 To thy brow which so justly belong ? —
 To the dead my remembrances paid —
 Are there none in the regions of light,
 Who the dictates of truth have obey'd,
 And oppos'd the black fiends of the night ?
 Yes ; one will replenish the train,
 Resplendent in freedom's fair line ;
 The shepherds all love the dear swain,
 And the garland for Wilkes will entwine.

W. T.

An Epistle to a Friend in the Country. Written in the Summer of 1766.

A corrected Copy.

' Then she would talk ! good gods ! how she would talk !'

Elegy on Simon's Wife.

HAVING heard dowdy * dogg'rel's in mighty renown,
 (For a great many people can read in this town)
 And not without some little cause to expect
 Such flattery, as goes to one's heart to reject ;
 I have dipp'd in the standish, intending to try
 My right hand at a verse — though the muse is but shy.
 You have heard of the wonderful mouth of one Pitt,
 Who so oft in *dom' com'* has brought forth a good hit :
 Laud ! Sir, there was hardly a man of them all,
 If he wrestled with William, but met with a fall.
 Since the days of Sir Richard, renowned in song,
 No tongue has been heard half so loud or so long ;
 With large words, and Latin, in swelling oration,
 He made a right hon'able noise in the nation ;
 Fifty boroughs declar'd (but may-be they might lie)
 He never regarded the great vowel I.
 He'd a stable to clean, they affirm'd, full as bad
 As that which old round-shoulder'd Hercules had ;
 So, t' enable him 'midst so much stink to hold out,
 They sent him a snuff-box at every good bout :
 The lids and the rims were all lacquer'd with gold,
 And might, if they are not already, be sold.

This

* Mr. Anstey's *Bath Guide* was much talked of about this time.

This doctrine was orthodox only a while,
For he has, Sir, a vast variation of style :
Mr. Deputy H—, and arms of the city,
In a picture together make any thing pretty—
The Deputy deals in profound allegory,
And holds in his hand a good † key for history.

But as I was saying, or going to say,
This Pitt was a marvellous man in his day,
He made us, like so many bees in a hive,
Sweat and toil to pay taxes, that battle might thrive ;
And really, my friend, if you give him his due,
He made both the French and the Spaniards look blue.
In the first place, we damn'd all our foes for their pains,
And then, in the second place, beat out their brains :
Our Gen'ral once chanc'd to be slaughter'd, and then
Pitt said he was sorry, said B—kf—d, Amen.

It would do your heart good, should you e'er come to town ;
To hear how their parliament speeches go down ;
There's a party to swallow, a party to pour,
So the gapers stand gaping for sense. Some devour,
Instead of an argument, apples or plumbs,
And some bite their nails, for most members have thumbs.

In a winter or two, I suppose, each oration,
Well chew'd, will again be spew'd out on the nation ;
For the substance of matter continues the same,
As Newton avers, though it changes its name :
So, for ought one can tell, ev'n this letter of mine,
With the rhyme taken out, may in senate-house shine.
Oh ! how would my family rise from their embers,
If once I could slip in a word with the members !
But I stop, for digressions, if once they've the rein,
Throw us off, tug as hard as we can at the mane.

A man that is gouty, or has a lame leg,
Elsewhere for self-interest may set up to beg :
Not so at St. Stephen's, when cripples come there,
All subscriptions requested, they solemnly swear,
Are for poor old Britannia, whose back is quite bare. }
With one hand in flannel, and one on his side,
He would gently begin, like the flow of the tide ;
And, as that by degrees all the bank overflows,
So from whispers he ended with bawling and blows :
“ Those Germans are impudent rascals, to think
“ We must find them in money, in meat, and in drink :
“ I protest once for all, and I never will alter,
“ Not a sou shall they have, though they wanted a halter.”

Qf

† Vide Speeches in Common Council.

Of late you have heard how he maul'd his poor brother,
 For provoking pert boys to abuse their old mother.
 He talk'd like an angel, a great many say,
 And beat gentle Damon quite out of his play.
 He begins—he is angry—their courage he damps—
 I trow they all wish'd to eat up their own stamps.

How are innocent quarries embowell'd since then,
 For statues to honour that best of all men!

Buckles, buttons, and studs, in America worn,
 Signs, ribbands, and tea-pots, with Pitt they adorn :
 The justice and parson unanimous sit,
 Enhancing the praise of their wine and Will Pitt.
 The good folk of Bath, to exceed all the rest,
 Rous'd old royal Bladud asleep in his nest ;
 They rous'd him, I say, when he straight fell a praising,
 In strong black-letter print, which was us'd former days in.

But now that king Bladud's again under ground,
 They have alter'd their tone, and are looking around
 For the cohorns of wit, with fell vengeance full stor'd,
 To sing at the head of the god they ador'd.
 'Tis amazing to me, but the men of this land,
 Who are not lords themselves, cannot oft understand
 How virtue or sense can reside in a peer ;
 And Pitt is become my lord Chatham.—I fear
 This vulgar opinion 'bout lords is not true,
 For since I've been from home I have seen one or two
 Who were rul'd by their wives, and went in in the rain,
 Which shews wisdom and goodness, I think, very plain.

Not a maker of ballads in all this great town,
 But is priming his piece to knock poor Chatham down :
 Nay, the ladies that traffick in love round the garden,
 Drink his sentence in gin to the very last farthing ;
 The news-papers all are as sly as they can be,
 With W's and P's and ***** you understand me.
 For my part, for I think it a shame to stand out,
 And see a poor lord so belabour'd about,
 As I find upon trial a knack to compose
 A caustic in verse ten times hotter than prose,
 I'm resolv'd in some chronicle soon to have at 'em,
 Subscribing myself at the bottom Phil-Chatham.

I may do him much good, and, one knows not for certain,
 He may leave me a box, when he thinks of departing ;
 Or perhaps, which is more to be wish'd for by far,
 He may make me jackal in his next German war.

I am ever, dear friend, your's sincerely.

London, Aug. 10, 1766.

The following Letters having been the Subject of general Conversation, they are thought worthy of being preserved in the Political Register.

To the Earl of -----

My Lord,
THE honourable lead you have taken in the affairs of America, hath drawn upon you the whole attention of the public. You declared yourself the single minister for that country, and was very proper you should convince the world you were so, by marking your outset with *Coup d'etat*. The dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst has given a perfect establishment to your authority, and I presume you will not think necessary or useful to hazard strokes of this sort hereafter. It will be advisable at least to wait until this affair is forgotten, and if you continue in office till that happens, you will surely be long enough a minister to satisfy your ambition.

The world attributes to your lordship the entire honour of Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismissal, because there is no other person in the cabinet, who could be supposed to have a wish or motive to give such advice to the C-----n. The duke of Grafton and the chancellor were once lord Chatham's friends. However their views may now be altered, they must know it would disgrace them in the eyes of the public, to offer an unrevoked outrage to a man, whose conduct and reputation had contributed not a little to their nation's glory.

The duke of Bedford and his friends have uniformly held forth Sir Jeffery Amherst as the first military man in this country;—they have quoted him on all occasions, when military knowledge was in question, and even been lavish in his praise. Besides they openly disclaim any share in this measure, and they are believed.

The earl of Shelburne usually finds himself in opposition, therefore is not too often consulted. In this instance, he certainly did not concur with the majority. He still is or pretends to be attached to lord Chatham, and I fancy he is not yet so cordially reconciled to the loss of the American department, as to dishonour himself merely to oblige your lordship.

You will not venture to insinuate that Sir Jeffery Amherst was dismissed by the advice of lord Granby or Sir Edward Hawke. Military men have a sense of honour, which your lordship has no notion of. They feel for a gallant officer who had his full share in the toils and honour, and had some right to a share in the profits of the war. They feel for the army and the navy. Lord Granby himself has some emoluments besides his power, and Sir Edward Hawke has his pension. Nobly earned I confess, but not better deserved than by the labours, which conquered America in America. Besides, my lord the commander in chief is the patron of the army. It was a common cause, which he could not desert without infamy and reproach. Lord Granby is not a man to take his tone from any minister. Where his honour is concerned, he scorns to adopt an humble ministerial language; he never would say—that indeed Sir Jeffery Amherst was rather unreasonable—that his terms were exorbitant, that he had killed two regiments left; and might well be contented:—This is a language it is impossible he should hold, while he himself is master general of the

ordnance, colonel of the blues, and commander in chief, with a whole family upon the staff. He knows the value, and could not but be sensible of the loss of those honourable rewards, which his distinguished capacity, his care of the public money, and his able conduct in Germany had justly entitled him to.

I think I have now named all the cabinet but the earl of Chatham. His infirmities have forced him into retirement, where I presume he is ready to suffer, with a full submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepid, worn out old man. But it is impossible he should be so far active in his own dishonour, as to advise the taking away an employment, given as a reward for the first military success, that distinguished his entrance into administration. He is indeed a compound of contradictions; but his letter to Sir J. Amherst stands upon record, and is not to be explained away. You know my lord, that Mr. Pitt therein assured Sir Jeffery Amherst that the government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward, and solemnly pledged the royal faith that his residence should never be required. Lost as he is, he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be something more than madness. The disorder must have quitted his head, and fixed itself in his heart.

The business is now reduced to a point, either your lordship advised this measure, or it happened by accident. You must suffer the whole reproach, for you are entitled to all the honour of it. What then is apparently the fact? one of your cringing, bowing, fawning, sword bearing brother courtiers ruins himself by an enterprise, which would have ruined thousands if it had succeeded. It becomes necessary to send him abroad. Sir Jeffery Amherst is one of the mildest and most moderate of men;—ergo, such a man will bear any thing. His government will be a handsome provision for B----t, and if he frets—why he may have a pension. Your emissaries lose their labour, when they talk with so much abhorrence of sinecures, non-residence, and the necessity of the king's service. You are conscious, my lord, that these are pompous words without a shadow of meaning. The whole nation is convinced that the fact is such as I have stated it. But to make it a little plainer, I shall ask your lordship a few questions, to which the public will expect, and your reputation, if you have any regard for it, demands, that you should give an immediate and strict answer.

1. When the government of Virginia was offered to Sir Jeffery Amherst, did he not reply, that his military employment took up all his time, and that he could not accept of the government if residence were expected?

2. Did not Mr. Pitt, then secretary of state, assure him in the king's name, that it was meant only as a mark of his majesty's favour, and that the residence would never be expected?

3. Has there been any further mark of favour conferred upon this gentleman, for all those important services, which succeeded the conquest of Cape Breton?

But now for questions of a later date.

1. Was not lord Buteourt's appointment abso-

lutely fixed on or before Sunday the 31st of July?

2. Had Sir Jeffery Amherst the least intimation of the measure before Thursday the 4th of August?

3. Was it not mentioned to him in general terms, as a measure merely in contemplation, without the most distant hint that Lord Botetourt, or any other person was actually in possession of his government?

4. Did not Lord Botetourt kiss hands the next day, that is on Friday the 5th instant?

5. Did you not dare to tell your f-----n that Sir Jeffery Amherst was perfectly satisfied, when you knew your treatment of him was such as the vilest peasant could not have submitted to without resentment?

Finally, my lord, is it not a fact, that Sir Jeffery Amherst having been called upon some time ago to give his opinion upon a measure of the highest importance in America, gave it directly against a favourite scheme of your lordship; and is not this the real cause of your antipathy against him? Your heart tells you that it is.

Now, my lord, you have voluntarily embarked in a most odious, perhaps it may prove to you a most dangerous business. Your Pylades will sneak away to his government; but you must stand the brunt of it here. For the questions which I have proposed to you, I must tell you plainly, that they *must*, and *shall* be answered.

You may affect to take no notice of them, perhaps, and tell us you treat them with the contempt they deserve. Such an expedient may be wise and spirited enough when applied to a declaration of rebellion on the part of the colonies, and God knows it has succeeded admirably. But it shall not avail you here.

Num negare audeas? Quid taces? Convincam si negas.

LUCRUS.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into the merits of Sir J-----y A-----'s dismissal from his government of V---a. Every body knows he deserves a great deal of the public: And if what I have heard be true, even the present A-----n do not refuse it him. But there are a number of busy incendiaries, who use every means to poison the minds of the good people of England, and to abuse those in power whoever they are. These neither enquire into the truth of the matter, nor do they fail to shew the most disagreeable view of every action in the ministry. An impudent varlet Y. Z. in this day's paper, talks of forty or fifty lives lost in St. George's fields. When was it? Others have heaped together a parcel of ill natured lies, and given it the name of an account of the dismissal of Sir J-----y A-----t.

The particulars of Sir J-----y A-----'s dismissal, I am told are as follows: For very urgent reasons it had been determined the governor general of every province in America should reside. Upon which Lord H----- wrote a letter to Sir J-----y, acquainting him of this resolution. After making very honourable mention of his service in America, how much his country was obliged to him for that activity, steadiness and courage, which so eminently distinguished the commander, and which from his example diffused it through the whole army, by which

means the British arms were crowned with success, and the war so happily concluded in that part of the world; he mentioned the very high opinion his M-----y had of him both as a man and a soldier; and how much it would be to his satisfaction, was it suitable to Sir J-----y's inclinations and circumstances, to go to Virginia and take upon him the supreme command in that province: But if it was not convenient, he might depend on it, that his M-----y would take the earliest opportunity of doing justice to his merits, by making him a recompense equivalent at least to the loss of his government.

This letter was scarce finished when Sir J-----y A-----t called at lord H-----'s on some other business. His lordship took that opportunity to explain the intentions of administration by such a measure, gave him the letter, and Sir J-----y seemed to be convinced of the necessity of the arrangement, acquiesced in the proposals made to him, and went away to all appearance well satisfied.

If it was the first day or not, I know not, but Sir J-----y very soon after this demanded an audience of his M-----y, and resigned the command of his regiment's.

This not being accepted of, and the ministry willing to keep such a man in the service, and not wishing to give cause for his resignation, endeavoured to reason with him; upon which he (Sir J-----y A-----t) delivered or sent to the D. of G-----n the following articles of accommodation.

1. A British peerage to himself, and failing heirs of his body, to descend to his brother the colonel.
2. A recompence equivalent to the loss of his government.
3. An exclusive right of working the coal mines at Louisburgh to him and his heirs for ever.
4. A grant of lands in America to a certain extent.

5. And in case it should be judged expedient to create American peers, that he should have the pre-eminence.

The D. of G-----n on receiving this, begged to see Sir J-----y. Who sent him word, if the interview was intended to induce him to lower his demands, it was totally unnecessary. His grace then went to him, and gave him the following answers.

1. British peerages were generally given to such, whose opulent fortunes enabled them to support that high dignity. This reason he apprehended Sir J-----y could not plead.
2. It always had been his M-----y's intention to make him a recompence equivalent to his government.
3. Reasons political and commercial forbade the working of the American coal mines at all.
4. He might have the grant of lands in America, when, where, and to what extent he pleased; but he did not apprehend there was the least reason to make the fifth demand, as he supposed a creation of American peers would never take place.

Sir J-----y A-----t's regiments are not given away.

I shall make no comment on this. I tell it as a fact, which I have heard from what people call good authority. The dismissal of an ex-

enced and deserving commander requires the attention; and there can be no harm in making the public acquainted with it. The number of falsehoods that have been spread abroad about this transaction have induced me to do you this.

I must tell you, however, that my information is second hand; but it may have this good effect, even if not true, to induce those who show the contrary to do as I have done. I shall therefore conclude with this question: Are these things true or not?

CLEOPHAS.

To the Earl of -----

My Lord.

Not the ordinary course of life, a regularity of accounts, a precision in point of fact, and a punctual reference to dates, form a strong presumption of integrity. On the other hand, an apparent endeavour to perplex the order and simplicity of facts, to confound dates, and wander from the main question, are shrewd signs of a rotten cause and of a guilty conscience. Let the public determine between your lordship and me. You have forfeited all title to respect; but I will treat you with tenderness and mercy, as I would a criminal at the bar of justice.

In your letter signed Cleophas you are pleased to assume the character of a person half informed. We understand the use of this expedient. You avail yourself of every thing that can be said for you by a third person, without being obliged to abide by the apology, if it should fail you. My lord, this a paltry art, unworthy of your station, unworthy of every thing but the cause you have undertaken to defend. While you pursue these artifices, it is impossible to know on what principles you really rest your defence. But you may shift your ground as often as you please; you shall gain no advantage by it. Your lordship, under the character of Cleophas, is exactly acquainted with particulars, which could only be known to a few persons, while you totally forget a series of facts known to thousands. You can repeat every article of your own letter to Sir Jeffery Amherst, though your own memory be too weak to recollect on what day lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed, on what day he kissed hands, and on what day the design was opened to Sir Jeffery Amherst. These, it seems are circumstances of no importance, and to say the truth, I believe they are such as you would willingly forget. I am glad to find however, that the acknowledgments of Sir Jeffery Amherst's merit and services could not be more full and formal than as it is stated in your letter to him. Upon that point then we are agreed.

You say Sir Jeffery Amherst, at your first conversation, seemed satisfied. My lord, I must tell you, that when a secretary of state assures Sir Jeffery Amherst that any particular measure is necessary for the king's service, he is too good a subject to set his private interest in opposition to the public welfare. But did you tell him that his government was given away four days before? Did you not speak of it as a measure *in futurum*, which was not to take place till he was perfectly satisfied? In short, did you tell him that lord Bo-

tetourt was to kiss hands next morning? Answer these questions like a man and a gentleman.

When Sir Jeffery Amherst found that all this pretended necessity of the king's service ended in a provision for a ruined courtier, he felt the indignation of a man who has received an *affront*, not an *injury*. Your emissaries affect to say that he was desirous to repair to his government, and upon his refusal was dismissed. This you know was not the fact, so that every reasoning built upon it falls to the ground. You never did nor could propose to him to return to America in a rank subordinate to general Gage. It never was a question; and indeed how should it, when his government was given away on the 31st of July, and he had not the most distant intimation that such a measure was thought of, until Thursday the 4th of August. Mark these dates, my Lord, for you shall not escape me.

After the affront had been fixed upon him in the grossest manner, he was desirous to consider what satisfaction he would accept of. He then sent to the duke of Grafton the demands, which you have stated to the public. These and the answers to them shall now be considered. The word *demand* is peremptory and unfit to be made use of by a subject in a request to the crown, it was *not* made use of by Sir J. A. though, for the matter of it, I assert without scruple, that a man of distinguished public merit, who has been signally insulted, is not in the case of a suppliant, but has a *right* to a signal reparation.

The Duke of Grafton's idea of the proper object of a British peerage differs very materially from mine. His Grace in the true spirit of business, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I presume the fortune which can purchase as well as maintain a title. We understand his grace, and know who dictated that article. He has declared the terms on which Jews, gamesters, pedlars and contractors (if they have sense enough to take the hint) may rise without difficulty into British peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his Grace's memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed. It is true his Grace's family derive *their* wealth and greatness from a different origin;---from a system which, he it seems, is determined to revive. His confession is frank and well becomes the candour of a young man, at least. I dare say that if either his grace or your lordship had had the command of a seven years war in America, you would have taken care that poverty however honourable, should not have been an objection to your advancement;---you would not have stood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherst, who is refused a title of honour because he did not create a fortune equal to it, at the expence of the public.

For the matter of a recompense equivalent to his government, he repeatedly told your lordship that the name of pension was grating to his ears; and that he would accept of no revenue that was not at the same time honorary. Your lordship does not know the difference, but men of honour feel it.

If reasons political and commercial forbid working the coal-mines in America, *that* I allow, is an answer *ad hominem*. It may be a true one

yet I do not despair of seeing these very mines hereafter granted to support the chastity of a minister's whore, the integrity of a pimp, or the uncorrupted blood of a bastard.

His grace is wonderfully bountiful in the article of lands, I doubt not he would, with all his heart, give Sir Jeffery Amherst the fee simple of every acre from the Mississippi to California. But we shall be the less surprized at his generosity, when we consider that every private soldier who served a certain time in America was entitled to two hundred acres, and that not one man, out of perhaps twenty thousand claimants, has yet settled upon his estate.

As to American peerages, if none are to be created, the request falls of course. But if such a creation had been intended, I call upon your lordship to point out a man better entitled to precedence upon that list than Sir Jeffery Amherst.

Your last assertion is, that his regiments are not given away. It is a matter of perfect indifference. Yet the public has reason to believe that colonel Hotham is now col. of the 15th regiment, and that the commission of commandant of the royal Americans only waits until it shall be determined, whether general Gage shall be recalled or not.

Permit me now to refer your lordship to the questions stated in my last letter, and to desire you to answer them strictly. If you do not, the public will draw its own conclusions.

Your emissaries, my Lord, have rather more zeal than discretion. One of them who calls himself a considerate Englishman, could not write by authority, because he is entirely unacquainted with facts. His declamation therefore signifies nothing. In his assertions however, there is something really not unpleasant. He assures us that your lordship's great abilities were brought into employment to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's administration. It puts me in mind of the consulship which *Caligula* intended for his horse, and of a project, which *Buckbrisse* once entertained of obliging the learned world with a correct edition of the classics.

LUCIUS.

AS I have not the least intention to enter into any dispute with Lucius, indulge me but this once, and give me leave to assure you it shall be the last on the subject from me; and though this man writes so ungenteelly, that he scarce deserves an answer, yet I could not help thinking this much necessary in justice to a nobleman, whom he has most shamefully attacked in consequence of my letter, but whose character is above the reach of malice, and who will be respected, when such pests of society are no more.

The account I sent you relative to the resignation of Sir J-----y A-----t I had heard publicly talked of at table, and in a coffee house; it was told as no secret; but was said to be from very good authority. I sent it as a piece of intelligence, without either adding or diminishing, I made no comment on it, as I intended no offence. Facts were stated as they were told, and as no dates were mentioned, I gave none, I left it to the public to form opinions as they pleased; to Sir J-----y A-----t's friends to contradict it, if they thought proper; and it has served as a bait for curs of opposition to snarl at.

Though I do not mean to enter into any dispute with this fellow, yet I cannot help making a few observations on his letter. That the government of Virginia was given a way five days before the intention of administration was mentioned to Sir J-----y A-----t, I have ground to believe; it is not fact: good An if you, Lucius, possessed but one grain of honesty, and if you had no other intention but to communicate useful information to the public, you would have told them so: That it was applied for even as soon as it was whispered that such a measure was to be adopted, upon the supposition that Sir J-----y A-----t would refuse to resign I can believe: That it was promised to Lord Botetourt in case he did not, I can likewise believe; and this might have been four, or even fourteen days for ought I know before it was mentioned; but pray where is the harm in all this? I fancy no measure of government is entered into immediately on its being mentioned; it requires some time to digest. And when it was judged expedient, in consequence of the accounts from that province, to send the governor general to reside in Virginia, was mentioned in the tenderest manner to Sir J-----y. No affront was ever intended. Any competence (if he did not chuse to go) in the power of administration, or in the gift of majesty, was offered to him. What more could he expect? He had it in his option to go or not; and if he did not go, he was promised an equivalent, perhaps more. As soon as this measure was surmised, was there any harm in lord Botetourt's application was there any fault in lord H-----h's promise of his interest for his friend? But is this an absolute appointment? No. All the world knows applications are made long before vacancies happen and preferments are promised; but every one, except Lucius, can make a distinction between a promise and absolute appointment. I dare say there were applications from more than one quarter before the late A-----p died: and probably it was promised before the event happened; but if the fee had not become vacant, the present A-----t might have remained at Coventry.

But speak out malevolence, speak envy, disappointment, and ill-nature. What in the name of goodness could be Sir Jeffery Amherst's objection to lord Botetourt? Was it because he is a nobleman? Because he has gone to the chapel at St James's, and has carried the sword of state before his king? Because he never has insulted majesty but has always behaved himself as a dutiful and loyal subject, and respectfully to his sovereign? Are these the weighty motives for objecting to his succession? Or is it still a greater crime to be poor? And do these make it an affront not to be a peer? Forbid it heaven! Forbid it Sir Jeffery Amherst's better genius! What would you have had Lucius? Would you have wished to have had the naming of Sir J-----y's successor! What a pit you had not! I declare you deserved it! How could my lord H-----h dare to recommend with out your permission!

Demand, you say, are unfit to be used for subjects requesting of the crown. Indeed, Lucius you are right; but many subjects now-a-days forget that they are so! and call them by what name you please, I acknowledge these articles of accommodation sent to the D. of G-----n by Sir

J---y A-----, or said to be sent, answer exactly to the ideas I have of *demands*, and pretty peremptory ones too.

It is strange, Lucius, that you cannot write one line without abuse. Had you made your remarks upon the D. of G-----'s answer to the first article without abusing his grace, it would have been genteel; but the scurrilous language you use, even when your arguments are just, proves that you are equally unacquainted with the gentleman, and sense of honour. I believe it is well known, that no commander in chief ever made less during a long war than Sir J---y A----- did: And I am very sorry indeed that want of fortune, the consequence of honesty and integrity, should ever be aligned as a reason to refuse honours to those who deserve them. The honours of this country, and its treasures to support them, have often been lavished on many who deserved them less than the conqueror of America. This I think was the only exceptionable answer from the D. of G-----n. I hope it is not true.

Whatever delicate feelings you, Mr. Lucius, may have, I know not; but I am of opinion, that sinecure places, non-resident governments and pensions are in fact the same, though different in names: Nay, the worst of the whole appears to me to be a non-resident governor. The very word implies a necessity of doing something: In fact he does nothing; he therefore is paid for what he does not, though it is his duty to do it. In short he is paid for neglect of duty; but because our language has not annexed the word pension to such neglect, it does not grate his ears. And, after all, what was Sir J. A.--st but a pensioner on the colony of Virginia; He did nothing for it, and was paid. Our idea of a pension is a reward granted for past services, so was his---such as you Lucius, such tools of opposition, such state incendiaries, venal mercenary wretches are glad to receive rewards of your labours infinitely less honourable than either place or pension.

The D. of G-----n's other answers were unexceptionable. As to the regiments being given away, I did not know it, therefore I am excusable.

And now, Mr. Lucius, I'll tell you a secret. Your supposing my letter to come from my L---d H---h, in my opinion did credit to the performance, and honour to me; but in justice to him I must declare, that I am not, know not, never saw, nor never spoke to the E. of H---h in my life---but just, as formerly,

C L E O P H A S.

To the Earl of -----

My Lord,

IT is indifferent to the public, whether the letters signed Cleophas, are written by your lordship, or under your immediate direction. Whoever commits this humble begging language to paper, we know to a certainty the person by whom it is held. We know the suppliant file your lordship has condescended to adopt at routes, at tea tables, and in banker's shops. But although you have changed your tone, I am bound in honour not to give you quarter. You have offended heinously against your country, and public justice demands an example for the welfare of mankind.

I foresaw Cleophas would soon be discovered. It seems the poor gentleman never saw, nor spoke to your lordship in his life, *but just as formerly*. The saying is a good one.

You say your character is above the reach of malice. True, my lord, you have fixed that reproach upon your character, to which malice can add nothing. You say it will be respected, when such pests of society as I am, are no more. I agree with you that it is very little respected at present, and I believe I may unluckily have been the spoil of good company; but I doubt whether my death, or even your own, will restore you to your good fame. Your peace of mind is gone for ever.

After the particulars quoted by Cleophas, it looks like trifling with the public, to confess that his accounts were collected in a coffee house, and that he will neither answer for facts nor be directed by dates. These are evasions which I scorn to imitate. My authority is indisputable;---I have stated facts with precision, and marked the dates, by which I shall invariably abide, yet Cleophas (alias your lordship,) says he has good ground to believe that the government was not given away four days before Sir J. A. was apprised of it;---he believes indeed that it was previously applied for, and that lord Botetourt had a conditional promise of it. These, it seems are the articles of his creed; but, as they are not points of religious faith, to which there might be some merit in sacrificing our understanding, I presume the public is not obliged to conform to them. My questions were put strictly to points of fact and time, and have not yet been answered. Places, I doubt not, are often applied for and promised before they are vacant; but I did not expect to hear so indecent a case supposed and urged by a man in your lordship's station, as that the see of Canterbury was promised to another, before the death of a late pious and truly reverend incumbent.

You say that government was ready to make Sir J. A. any recompense: yet, excepting a grant of land in a wilderness, every one of his requests were flatly denied.

You ask if there was any harm in this, or any fault in that.---What is this but crying *peccavi*, in the very language of misery and despair? It neither suits the spirit, which can do no wrong with firmness, nor that purity of innocence, which is conscious of having done right. If the necessity of sending over a governor to Virginia had really existed, and if your lordship had thought proper to take an early opportunity of stating that necessity to Sir J. A.---If you had previously apprised him of the design of giving him a successor, and if, in conformity to such declaration, a man of business, of judgment, or activity had been fixed, you surely would not have paid too great an attention to Sir J. A. and you would have prevented every possible appearance of an intention to affront him. As to the pecuniary injury, I will venture to say, there is not a man breathing who would have been more easily satisfied in that respect than Sir J. A.---Compare this supposition with your real proceedings towards him, and though you cannot blush, I am sure you will be silent.

Your question in favour of lord Botetourt amounts to nothing. It is not that he is a bad man, or an unadvisable subject. But he is a trifling

character and ruined in his fortunes. Poverty of itself is certainly not a crime. Yet the prodigality, which squanders a fair estate, is in the first instance dishonourable ;---in the next it leads to every species of meanness and dependance, and, when it aims at a recovery at the expense of better men, becomes highly criminal. Will your lordship, can you, with a steady countenance, affirm that it was the necessity of the state and not his own, which sent him to Virginia ?

Your lordship may give what name you think proper to the requests proposed by Sir J. A. He was desirous to specify them to the duke of Grafton, and they were refused. It is true, he did not confine himself to the idea of a bare equivalent for the pecuniary value of his government. A generous mind, offended by an insult equally signal and unprovoked, looks back to services long neglected and with justice unites the claim arising from those services to the insult, which of right demands a signal reparation.

As you seem, in the Duke of Grafton's answer to the first article, to feel and acknowledge your weakness, I shall not press you further upon it.

The pensions given by the crown have been so scandalously prostituted, that a man of any nicety might well be forgiven, if he wished not to have the title of pensioner added to his name. But I shall not descend to a dispute about words. I speak to things. If, instead of the government of Virginia, his late Majesty, on the surrender of Louisburgh, had thought proper to give Sir J. A. a pension, and if this had been the declared motive of giving it, he might have accepted it without scruple, and held it with honour. Instances of pensions so bestowed are not very frequent. Sir Edward Hawke's is one. How widely different is the case in question ? I will not pretend to do justice to this good man's delicacy and sense of honour ; but I can easily conceive how a man of common spirit must be affected, when a place which he possessed on the most honourable terms, is taken from him, without even the decency due to a gentleman ;---when he sees it given to a needy court dependant, and when the only reparation offered him, is to enroll him in the list of pensioners, among whom an honest man would blush to see his name. If you had not been in such haste to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's administration, I think your insignificant friend might have appeared in that list without any disgrace to himself, and his distresses might have done credit to the humanity of your lordship's recommendation.

You did not know the 15th regiment was given to col. Hotham.---Yet your assertion was direct. For shame, my lord, have done with these evasions. Poor P---n--- hangs his head in perfect modesty, and even your *pius Abates* your unfortunate B---ng---n disowns you.

I shall conclude with hinting to you (in a way which you alone will understand) that there is a part of my behaviour, for which you owe me some acknowledgment. I know the ostensible defence you have given to the public differs widely from the real one intrusted privately to your friends. You are sensible that the most distant insinuation of what that defence is would ruin you at once. But I am a man of honour, and will neither take advantage of your imprudency, nor of the difficulty of your situation.

Plerisque moris est, prolate rerum ordine, in aliquem locum a que plausibilem locum quam maxime possint abilitate excurrere. QUINTILIAN.

To the Earl of H-----.

My Lord,

YOUR change of title makes no alteration in the merits of your cause. You argued as well, and were full as honest a man under the character of Cleophas as you are under that of Scrutator. The task of following falsehood through a labyrinth of nonsense is, I confess, much heavier than I expected. You have a way with you, my lord, that blunts the edge of attention, and sets all argument at defiance. But I hold myself engaged to the public, whose cause is united to that of Sir Jeffery Amherst. The people of this country feel as they ought to do the treatment of a man who has served them well ; the time may come, my lord, when you in your turn may feel the effect of their resentment.

You set out with asserting, that the crown has an indisputable power of dismissing its officers without assigning a cause.---Not quite indisputable my lord ; for I have heard of addresses from parliament, to know who advised the dismissal of particular officers. I have heard of impeachments attending the wanton exertion of the prerogative, and you perhaps may live to hear of them likewise.

Another assertion of the same sort has been thrown out by your emissaries, and now gravely maintained by your lordship,---viz. that the promise conveyed to Sir J. A. by Mr. Pitt, was in itself an absurdity, and that no succeeding minister is bound to make good an engagement entered into by his predecessor in office. I shall leave my lord privy seal to explain to you the motives on which Mr. Pitt acted. The promise arose from his own motive, and if he has not spirit enough to maintain it, he deserves the contempt with which you treat him. In the mean time, I shall presume that a lieutenant governor was then thought as efficient an officer as a governor, and that this post was bestowed on Sir J. A. not as the salary of future duties, but as the reward of services already performed. In the second part of your assertion, you wilfully confound the general measures of government with the particular promise of a --- made to an individual. Even ministers, my lord, might, without any injury to their characters, preserve the faith and integrity of their office. But whatever latitude they claim for themselves, the honour of a --- ought to be sacred, even to his successor. The proposition that ministers are not bound by the engagements of their predecessors, if taken generally, is false. There is no breach of public faith, which may not be justified on such a principle. Treaties at this rate may be violated without national dishonour, and the most solemn assertions from the throne, contradicted without reserve. You forget that you are mixing the permanent dignity of the crown, with the fluctuating views and interests of its servants. Yet I shall now allow you more my lord, than I believe you expect. I shall admit, without hesitation, that the promise made to Sir J. A. could not be so absolute, as not to be revocable in a case of urgent necessity. If such a case had been stated, and demonstrated to Sir J. A. he would not have staid to be solicited. He would either have gone himself, or cheerfully resigned his government to his majesty's disposal. The question then upon the degree of that necessity

Make it evident to the public, and I shall then only complain that you have done a right thing in a manner the most indecent and absurd. You will remember, my lord, how much the issue of this question depends upon lord Botetourt's character, for the public will not easily be persuaded that a conjuncture which did not rise above the level of lord Botetourt's abilities, could be difficult, urgent & important.

You say, the facts on which you reason, are *universally admitted*. --- A *gratis dictum*, which I flatly deny. If, instead of wandering into wild declamations, you had found it convenient to solve my questions strictly, we should have joined issue upon our facts, and the point would long since have been determined. Permit me to refresh your memory with some of them once more.

1. Was not lord Botetourt absolutely appointed on the 31st of July?
2. Was it mentioned in any shape to Sir J. A. before the 4th of August?
3. Was it not then mentioned as a measure in contemplation only?
4. Did not lord Botetourt kiss hands next morning, that is Friday the 5th instant?
5. Did not Sir J. A.'s opinion in council defeat an American scheme, formed by lord B----- and you, and is not this the true cause of your discouragement against him?

It is unworthy the character of a gentleman to endeavour to amuse the public with idle declamations, while such questions as these remain unanswered,

LUCIUS.

To the Earl of H-----.

My Lord,

THERE is no surer sign of a weak head, than a settled depravity of heart. A base action is a disorder of the mind, and next to the folly of doing it, is the folly that defends it. Had the letter signed *Lucius* never been answered, you would not have so shamefully betrayed the weakness of your cause, and your silence might have been interpreted into a consciousness of innocence. The question is now exhausted, for the public is convinced. How well or ill we have argued is of infinitely less importance than the integrity of facts. Yet even facts, though separately true, will prove nothing, if the order in which they happened, be confounded. Take it finally, my lord, and disprove it if you can. Lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed on or before Sunday. You called at Sir Jeffery Amherst's on the Wednesday following. He was not in town, but you saw him next day (*Thursday*). You then told him that such a measure was in contemplation; but far from naming his successor you did not tell him that his successor was appointed. Yet lord Botetourt kissed hands the next morning (Friday), and the first notice Sir J. A. received of his lordship's appointment was by an express sent to him that evening by his brother.

That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better, or observe the great ones less than your lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man's face, while you stick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned, that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of this country, while you, my lord, the darling child of a court and a vanity, were practising the gener-

ous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the antichamber of a favourite.

As a man of abilities for public business, your first experiment has been unfortunate. Your circular letter to the American governors, both for matter and composition, is a performance, which a school-boy ought to blush for. The importance and difficulty of the occasion gave you a fair opportunity of shewing by what talents you were qualified for the station of a Minister. The assembly of Massachusetts bay, not contented with their own efforts to throw off their allegiance, solicit the other colonies to unite with them in measures of the same tendency and spirit. A resolution of this extraordinary nature demanded the whole attention of government, and yours in particular. Let us see how you have treated it. Instead of a clear precise instruction to each governor; -- Instead of separate instructions adapted to the temper, circumstances, and interests of the several provinces, wherein you might have shewn your political abilities as well as your knowledge of that country; what have you done? In a circular letter of twenty or thirty lines (conceived in the same terms to all the governors) you tell them,

"That this measure is of a dangerous and factitious tendency" *A most wonderful discovery.*

"That it is calculated to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects" *What else do you think was meant by it?*

"An unwarrantable combination" *That's the question with them, and why did you not prove it so?*

"That it excites an opposition to parliament" *What other design, in the name of folly, could be proposed by it?*

"That it subverts the true principles of the constitution" *which they utterly deny.*

What are these but the loose hackneyed terms of office, which make no impression, because they convey no argument, and hardly a determinate meaning. You have not suggested a single motive to any one of the colonies, why they should not unite with the assembly at Boston. This talk you leave to the governors, and if they find it an easy one, so much the better. Your conclusion however is a matter-piece. You desire the governors to prevail with their assemblies to take no notice of the requisition from Boston, *which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves.* What, my lord, do you seriously think that a formal attempt to unite the whole continent of America in rebellion against this country deserves nothing but the silent indifference of contempt? Is this the language of business and attention? Your letter, my lord, does indeed deserve contempt, but the enterprizes of the colonies are of other importance. They call for other measures and other ministers, and be assured that, when parliament meets, unless you intend to govern without one, neither you nor your companions will be permitted to ruin this country with impunity,

LUCIUS.

P. S. A Friend of mine has taken the pains to collect a number of epithets, with which lord H. has been pleased to honour me in the course of our correspondence. I shall lay them before the public in one view, as a proof of his lordship's vanity and singular conduct.

1. Wretched scribbler.

2. Worthless fellow.
3. Vile incendiary.
4. False liar, in opposition to a true one.
5. Snarler.
6. Contemptible thing
7. Abandoned tool of opposition, and diabolical miscreant.
8. Impudent scurrilous wretch.
9. Rascal and scoundrel, *passim*.
10. Barking Cur; by way of distinction from
11. Barking animal; cum multis aliis.

To all which I shall only say, that his lordship's arguments are upon a level with his politeness.

P. S. I acknowledge a mistake the moment I perceive it. I have advanced the transaction between lord H. and Sir J. A. too forward by one complete week. But the days of the week, the facts, and the order, in which they succeeded one another, are the same. You see plainly that my arguments are not affected by this mistake. If they had, I should have acknowledged it without hesitation.

To the Earl of H-----.

My Lord,

PERMIT me to have the honour of introducing you to a very amiable and valuable acquaintance. Mr. --- is the gentleman I mean. Your lordship will forgive the timidity and bashfulness of his first address, and, considering your quality, condescend to make him some advances. There is a familiarity in your circumstances, to say nothing of your virtues and understanding, which may lay the foundation of a solid friendship between you for the rest of your lives. Undoubtedly you are not quite unacquainted with a character, on which you appear to have formed your own. His case was singular, my lord, and cannot fail of exciting some emotions of sympathy in your lordship's breast. This worthy man found himself exposed to a most malicious persecution for perjury. A profligate jury found him guilty, and a cruel judge pronounced his sentence of imprisonment, pillory, and transportation. His mind was a good deal distressed in the course of this affair (for he too is a man of delicate feelings) but his character, like yours, was above the reach of malice. Not to keep your lordship any longer in pain, I have the pleasure of telling you that, when law and justice had done their worst, a lady, in whom he seldom places any confidence at cards, was generous enough to stand his friend. Fortune discovered a flaw in the indictment; and now, my lord in spite of an iniquitous prosecution, in spite of conviction and sentence, he stands as fair in his reputation as ever he did. Your lordship will naturally be struck with the resemblance between your case and his. Facts were so particularly stated against you, that they could not be denied; --- the order, in which they happened, was demonstrated, and sentence pronounced by the public. The affair was over, when up gets Tommy Ford, and discovers that the whole transaction passed in the last week of July instead of the first in August. This mistake, as it brought the object nearer to us, I called *advancing*. In your lordship's country I presume it may be properly called a retreat. Here however the comparison ends. Your friend escaped by a form of law. But you, my lord, have been tried at a tribunal of honour and jury. The public, who are your judges, will not suffer my mistake (however it may prove the

badness of my heart to acknowledge it) to quash the indictment against you. You are convicted of having done a base and foolish action, in a manner most despicable and absurd. Your punishment attends you in the contempt and detestation of mankind.

Your lordship has been pleased to publish a long letter in the Gazetteer, to prove that all Sir Jeffery Amherst's military services are a mere fiction. You not sign it indeed, because you had lately signed did another, containing the most express and authentic acknowledgement of those services, in a style of applause, not very distant from flattery. You will not now it seems allow him any share in the reduction of Louisbourg, or the conquest of Canada. Perhaps after all he never was in America. I am not a soldier, my lord, nor will I pretend to determine, what share of honour a general is entitled to for success, who must have borne the whole blame and disgrace, if he had failed. Had the event been unfavourable, his officers, I dare say, would have been willing enough to yield their concern in it to their commander in chief. As to the rest, I have heard from military men, that the judgment and capacity, which make resistance useless or impracticable, is rated much higher than even the resolution which overcomes it. When you, my lord, and Mr. --- are forgotten, this country will remember with gratitude, that Sir Jeffery Amherst had the honour of making sixteen French battalions prisoners of war; --- that he carried on the whole war in America at an expense less than the fortunes, which some individuals had acquired by contract and management in Germany; --- and that he *did not* put the savings into his own pocket.

If a British peerage be too high a reward for these services, at least do him justice. Do not assure the public that he was not contented with a revenue of four thousand pounds a year, when you know that the income of his government and two regiments, did not exceed two thousand three hundred, and that, until he was positively outraged, he never complained. As I profess dealing in facts, take the account.

Government of Virginia	1500
Fifteenth regiment	600
Commandant of the 60th	200
	<hr/>
	2300

As to a peerage, you would have done well to consider upon what sort of people this honour has been conferred for ten years past. Among the rest, we should be glad to know what were your lordship's services or merits, when you were created baron of Hawke. I take for granted that they were of a different complexion from those of Sir J. A. since they have been so differently rewarded.

Here I shall conclude. You have sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to the plough. You have left him poor in every article of which a false fawning Minister could deprive him; --- but you have left him rich in the esteem, the love and veneration of his country. You cannot now recall him by any offer of wealth or honours. Yet I foretold that time will come, when you yourself will be the cause of his return. Proceed, my lord, as you have began, and you will soon reduce this country to an extremity, in which the wisest and best subjects *must* be called upon, and *must* be employed. Till then enjoy your triumph.

LUCIUS.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

Letters concerning confessions of faith, and subscriptions to articles of religion in protestant churches; occasioned by the perusal of the Confessional. 8vo. 2s. White.

AN animated and ingenious answer to the *confessional*, and equal to any that has appeared in opposition to it. It seems the mode of the present times to cry up every work written against the established religion as irrefragable; but we will venture to establish it as a maxim, which our author has strengthened, that whoever attacks the church of England, will find himself in the case of Horace's antagonist;

—— “*Fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido.*” HOR. *serm. lib. 2. sat. 1.*

The invalidity of schismatical and heretical baptism, proved from reason, scripture, councils, and fathers. By *Orthodoxus.* 8vo. 6d. Steare.

WE may bear the same record concerning this author, as the apostle Paul does in his address to the Romans: “I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God; but not according to knowledge.” *Rom. 10. 2.*

A dialogue between Isaac Walton, and Homologistes; in which the character of bishop Sanderfon is defended against the author of the Confessional. 8vo. 1s. Fletcher.

A Candid, ingenious, and learned defence of the worthy prelate.

A letter to a young gentleman under sentence of death. 8vo. 3d. Nicoll.

THE meaning may be good, but the arguments are weak, though worked up with the warm ingredients of methodism.

The principles of infidelity and faith considered, in a comparative view. Two discourses preached before the university of Oxford, at St. Mary's in the morning, at St. Peter's in the afternoon, on the first Sunday in lent; March 21, 1768. By John Rawlins, M. A. of Christ-church. 8vo. 1s. Fletcher and Co.

A Learned attempt, worthy of a learned audience, excluding some in-elegancies: we may give the character of this piece, in the words of the Mantuan bard,

— “Tale tuum carmen nobis divine poeta quale *sopor fessis*.”

Letters to the author of a free enquiry into the origin of evil. To which are added three discourses; 1st. On conscience; 2d. On inspiration; 3d. On a paradisiacal state. By the rev. R. Shepherd, of G. C. C. Oxford. 8vo. 3s. Flexney.

A Sensible defence of the origin of evil, as revealed in scripture; and a satisfactory reply to all the reasons and fallies of the free enquiry; the author deserves the classic compliment,

Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis?

Philosophia vera, or a new system of philosophy, natural, moral, and divine; very concise, but comprehensive, much desired by, and very interesting to mankind in general. By Elias Newman, Esq; 8vo. 1s.

SOME of the observations are indeed *new*; but what could we expect less from Mr. *New-man*? So much must be said, that they have no other recommendation but their *novelty*; and notwithstanding we are told they are *much desired* by *mankind*; yet we will venture to say, that unless the author was more *desirous* to publish them, than the world will be found ready to adopt them, they would never have stained the virgin whiteness of paper.

The creed of eternal generationists, compiled from the writings of some of those sensible, consistent, and orthodox gentlemen. By Isaac Harman, 8vo. 6d. Johnson.

THIS is a weak endeavour to turn the opinion of Dr. Gill, Mr. Brine, and others, into ridicule; and if we consider the importance of the doctrine which the writer undertakes to explode, we are at a loss to determine which is greatest, his want of sense, or want of decency.

Reflections

Reflections on inland navigations: and a new method proposed for executing the intended navigation betwixt the Forth and the Clyde, in a complete manner, at an expence a third less than what that work has hitherto been estimated at. The same method applied to almost all rivers and rivulets, by which Great-Britain and Ireland might have, at a very easy expence, above 5000 miles of new inland navigation. 8vo. 1s. Cadel.

INLAND navigations are certainly of great utility; but like other useful things may be carried to excess, and then be productive of dangerous consequences: we could wish that this hint would serve to put a stop to the rage, which the present age seems to have, for works of this kind. What our author has offered on this head is very plausible; whether his method be as safe as that of Mr Smeaton's, is not yet clear; and if experience should prove it otherwise, it would be fatal perhaps to the nation in general; and the author's observation would have little effect to remove the evil. The observation hinted at is to this effect;—"The great rapidity, and violence of rivers during a flood, has, no doubt, been the reason that deterred the constructors of canals from risking any communication with them. But though a body of water running down a declivity, be a furious giant overturning every thing before him, yet, if this said giant be laid flat on his back, he loses all his force, and becomes intirely passive, whatever be his size."—Well done Gray the giant-killer!

One thousand seven-hundred sixty eight: or past 12 o'clock, and a cloudy morning. Canto 1. 4to. 1s. Bingley.

AN attempt to be satyrical, but the author's muse seems to be lost in his own cloudy morning.

The groans of Old England: By a plain dealer. 8vo. 1s. Steare.

A Republication of the invectives made against continental connections, and especially the electorate of Hanover. But who can forbear *groaning* with the author, when he finds him concluding his rhapsody, with a proposal for putting the college of physicians, and the liberties of the press, under the regulation of licensers?

A letter to his grace the duke of Grafton, on the present situation of public affairs. 8vo. 1s. Almon.

A Sensible and judicious performance! wherein the author displays an extraordinary knowledge of the present state

state of parties, the national debt, and the state of the colonies. His style is elegant, and his reasoning strong; and this production is certainly that of no mean or common hand.

A second letter to the right honourable the earl T——e, in which the proceedings relative to J——n W——s, from March 28th, to June 18th, are minutely considered; the person clearly pointed out, who was the cause of the present distractions; and a curious anecdote with regard to Lord M——d's family, never published before, 8vo. Price 1s. Henderson.

WE are sorry that this author could not make a better figure with such materials as he had before him; but though some persons can talk well upon nothing, our author cannot talk well upon a copious subject.

The true sentiments of America, contained in a collection of letters from the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, to several persons of high rank in this kingdom: together with certain papers relating to a supposed libel, on the governor of that province, and a dissertation on the canon or feudal law, 8vo. 2s. 6d. Almon.

A Collection of the most important pieces, which have been received from America. We cannot but admire the brave and sublime notions these colonists have of liberty: they may indeed carry their ardour too far, but if they fall a sacrifice to their sentiments

“Magnis tamen decedit ausis.”

Serious reflections on the high price of provisions; with a proposal for a permanent remedy, by giving an additional encouragement to agriculture 8vo. 1s. Durham.

A Sensible performance, the proposal is entirely new, but however plausible it may appear in the perusal, would be found to be of dangerous consequence, if reduced to practice.

Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania, to the inhabitants of the British colonies. 8vo 2s. Almon.

BOLD! and warm! perhaps in these servile days, it may be reckoned too bold and too warm. One would imagine that this author, Mr. Dickenson, had fired himself with the writings of the Roman, or of the Grecian orators, before

before he sat down to his desk, the some unquenchable love of liberty breathes throughout his letters; and we cannot help saying, it is well for him, that he does not live on this island, for here we are permitted only to *think*; we dare not *write*.

The summer-house; or the history of Mr. Morton, and Miss Bamsted. 2 vol. 12mo. 6s. Noble.

A Lesson for young girls, teaching them to refuse every match made for them by their parents as an act of cruelty, and to run away with the first worthless fellow, who offers. Novels indeed are generally made for the reading of young misses; but this, and most other novels, are such as young misses should not read.

A philosophical survey of the animal creation, an essay, Wherein the general devastation and carnage that reign among the different classes of animals, are considered in a new point of view; and the vast increase of life and enjoyment, derived to the whole from this institution of nature, is clearly demonstrated. 8vo. 3s. Johnson.

THE attempt of this author is certainly laudable; and the manner in which he has treated his subject, is not despicable; but at the same time, it is doubtful whether “the devastation and carnage of animals are considered in a new point of view;” if not the author betrays his *want of reading*; we will not say his *want of honesty*; because it is possible, that he has not read as much as other people; but if he thinks he has, then we must accuse him of *plagiarism*, which includes in it a *want of honesty*, for it is certain his mode of defence is no *new thing*, as the numerous *thoughts* he has stolen from the essay on man, and his very principles which may be deduced from thence, abundantly evince.

A letter to the right honourable the earl of Shelburne, on the fatal consequences of suffering the French to invade Corsica, &c. 1s. Flexney.

P OOR Britannia! Poor Corsica! Poor Shelburne! and poor *Quidunc*!

A sermon occasioned by the death of the reverend Mr. John Gawfel, preached at the Chapel in church-gate street, Bury St. Edmunds, July 17, 1768.

MR. Gawfel, was certainly a gentleman of an amiable character; but this piece is no better than a sleepy sermon.

A letter from T. Harris, to G. Colman, on the affairs of Covent-Garden theatre, to which is prefixed, an address to the public 1s. 6d. Fletcher and Co.

PITY it is that Mr. Harris will not employ a better hand to defend him, when one of the best writers publishes against him!

The true nature and intent of religion. A sermon preached in the cathedral church of Durham, on the 15th of May, 1768. being the Sunday after the interment of the late reverend Dr. Bland, senior prebend of that church, by Edmund Law, D. D. 6d. Charnley.

O. H! L A W!

A defence of the doubts concerning the authenticity of the last publication of the confessional &c. in answer to occasional remarks, 8vo. 6d. J. and F. Rivington.

THE subjects of this debate, are the declarations of Charles II. from Breda, and that prefixed to the *thirty-nine* articles, together with the signification of the words *inferi*, and *hell*, &c. And the disputants make use of all the arts of polemical divinity.

A full and impartial view of the trial of Donald Maclane, who was indicted at the assizes at Guildford, for the wilful murder of William Allen, 8vo. 1s. Harris.

THE public may judge of the impartiality of the author, when he is informed, that he was the writer of the summary of the trial of Justice Gillam, published in the public Ledger. To prevent imposition, we would advise this *thing* of an author to alter his title page, into "A foolish, and *partial* view of the trial of Donald Maclane, who was indicted at the assize at Guildford, for the *skillful* murder, &c."

The

The conduct of Ralph Hodgson, Esq; one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, for the county of Middlesex, in the affair of the Coal-heavers. 8vo. 1s. Nicoll.

HOW truly facts are represented by the justice, we will not venture to say; he bears hard upon Mr. Green, and makes great pretensions to humanity, and disinterestedness. But it should be remembered, that if Mr. Green bears hard upon the justice in his evidence at the Old Bailey, that evidence was given in upon oath, a circumstance in which the justice's account seems to be defective.

A further defence of priestcraft; being a particular improvement of the Shaver's sermon, on the expulsion of six young gentlemen from the university of Oxford. 8vo. Keith.

THE production of some hireling scribbler, abounding in scurrility and impertinence!

A lecture on moving figures, representing the principal actors on our political stage, as they really are, divested of false colourings of party or prejudice. By signior Fidalgo, of Chelsea. 8vo. 1s. Wilkie.

A Vain attempt to be witty at the expence of persons of character; and as ridiculous for the fullomeness of the encomium paid to a late first Lord of the admiralty.

The rudiments of English grammar, adapted to the use of schools, with notes and observations for the use of those who have made some proficiency in the language. By Joseph Priestly, L. L. D. F. R. S. 12mo. 2s. 6d. Becket and de Hondt.

THE author's design is good, some of his observations are new and useful; but it were to be wished that he had not quoted Scotch translators, or the journeymen of Scotch translators, as standards of the English language.

Libellus de Natura, curationeque scorbuti, auctore Nathanaele Hulme. To which is annexed a proposal for preventing the scurvy in the British navy. 8vo. 3s. Cadell.

THIS is an attempt in which the author has shewn great humanity and precision. The anecdotes or cases he has introduced, are singular and diverting. With respect to the author's Latin style we have little to say; but when we find him beginning a sentence with a "*ut pote cum autem*," we cannot help thinking of Tom Brown's declamation, consisting entirely of adverbs.

An essay on the diseases incident to literary and sedentary persons
By S. A. Tiffot, M. D. 12mo. 2s. Dilly.

AS literary and sedentary persons are much indebted to the Dr. for his thus interesting himself for their preservation, the least they can do in return is, to recommend his essay to the attention of the studious.

Observations on the dropsy in the brain, by Robert Whytt, M. D. late physician to his Majesty, president of the royal college of physicians, professor of medicine in the university, and F. R. S. To which are added his other treatises, never hitherto published by themselves. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Becket.

A Performance which displays industry, sagacity, and precision, and does great honour to the author.

Remarks and dissertations on Virgil: with some other classical observations, by Mr. Holdsworth. Published with several notes and additional remarks, by Mr. Spence. 4to. 1l. 10s. Dodkey.

THO' this work, on the whole, shews a parade, or ostentation of learning, yet it abounds with curious remarks that may be no less improving to the learned, than to the illiterate.

The academy of play; containing a full description of the laws of play, now observed in the academies of paris, relating to the following games, picquet, quadrille, ombre, &c. &c. From the French of the Abbé Bellecour 12mo. 3s. F. Newbery

THO' cards may hold a principal place in the diversions of the illiterate, no one can read of an academy for gaming, without a smile. The author has indeed done justice to his subjects, and his treatise is more perfect than any that have preceded.

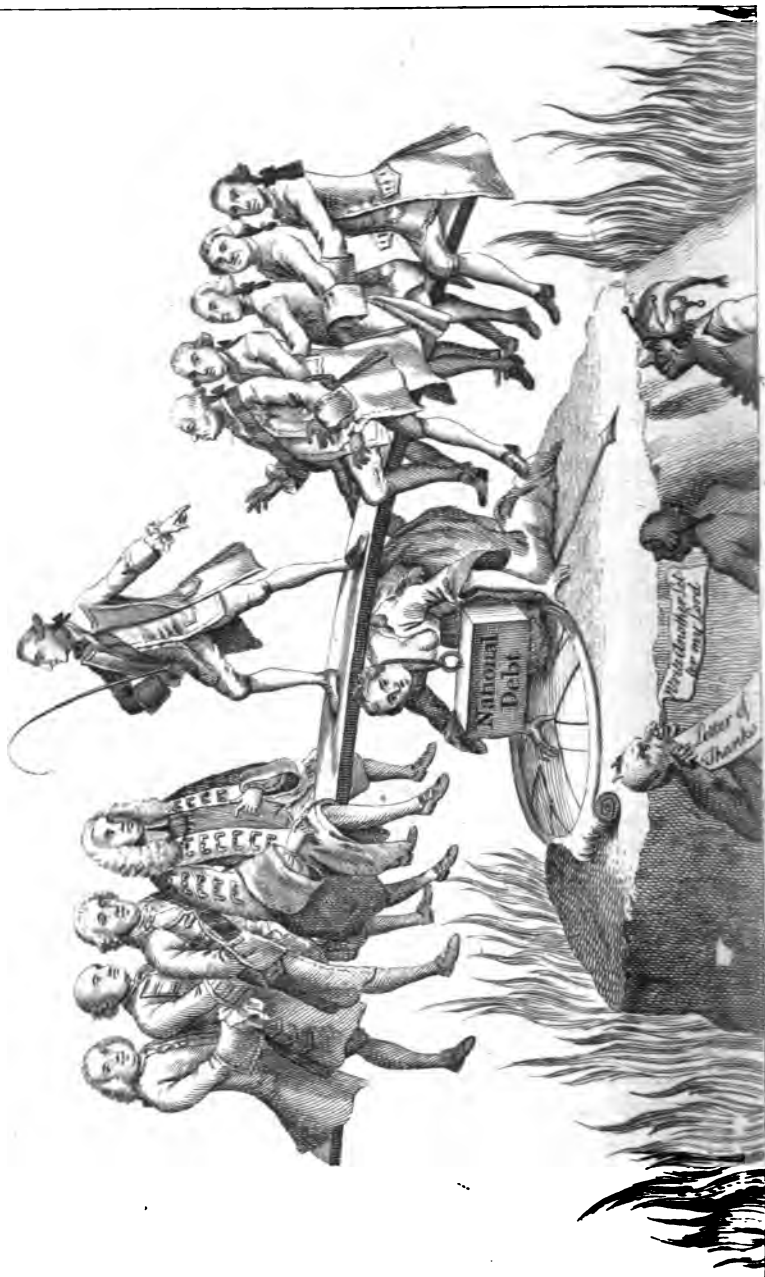
An exposition of the church catechism, in a new method, adapted both to the young christian and the adult, with variety of original notes. To which are added, four sermons, on confirmation, education, the choice of a wife, and a friend; with morning and evening prayers, by the Rev. James Penn, vicar of Clavering cum Langley, in the county of Essex, and chaplain to the right hon. earl Gower. 12mo. 2s. 6d. Horsfield.

THIS is the performance of the merry parson, who has dedicated one of his sermons to the devil. The work before us, may be of service to children; and though it is equal to the former pieces of this author, it is much to be questioned whether it can be of any advantage to adults,

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T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For NOVEMBER, 1768.

NUMBER XX.

To the Author of the POLITICAL REGISTER,

Τῶν εὐνοῦντων το καλλιῶν καὶ περιμαχημάτων ἀνθρ.

Plutarch in the life of T. Q. Flaminius

SIR,

October 29, 1768.

AFTER the great variety of pieces, which to this hour have appeared for and against *Mr. Wilkes*, that subject does not seem yet exhausted, nor indeed is every particular of importance relative to his public conduct hitherto known and authenticated. I say, *fix, public conduct*; for I am entirely of opinion with ***** who declares, "I do not think myself at liberty to scan the private actions of any man, but have a right to consider the conduct of every man in public, and to approve or to condemn his doings, as they appear to me to be calculated, either for the good or the hurt of his country." *A letter concerning libels, warrants, &c.* first published in 1764. I shall not now stay to shew how far the equity of this rule was vio-

VOL. III.

L 1

lated

lated by the *concealed* author himself before he got half through his pamphlet, in a manner equally indecent and unjust to a sick and absent friend, whom he basely wounded; but after the long harvest, which you, sir, and your brother authors and printers have made of *Mr. Wilkes*, I shall venture to offer you a few tolerable gleanings.

The public, sir, have a right to ask why *Mr. Wilkes* did not personally attend the trials for the *re-publication* of the *North Briton*, No. 45; and the *Essay on Woman*, as he did all the actions brought by the printers apprehended under the *general warrant*. We ought likewise to be told why he was not present in the house of commons, when the charge against him was heard on the 19th of january 1764. The justice of the nation, and his own personal honour, demanded his appearance. He had made an appeal to his country, and the cause of liberty had a particular claim on a man, who had pledged himself in its defence. He was prevented, not by fear, to which I believe him a stranger, but by a prohibition from the highest of all powers, by a dangerous illness. Towards the end of december 1763, he went during the recess of parliament to pass the holidays with an only daughter, who was at Paris for a part of her education. That journey being generally made in four days, often in three, the distance was of no consequence, since in so short a time he could hear from his friends. He was seized at Paris with a violent fever. A considerable inflammation, with other bad symptoms, attended the dangerous wound he received in a duel with *Mr. Martin*. In this condition he was transmitted to the speaker on the 11th of january 1764, an original certificate of his ill health, signed by the French king's physician and a surgeon of his army. He requested in the letter a more distant day, that he might have it in his power to attend the discussion of points, so very important in themselves, and in which he was so very materially concerned; but the decree of *expulsion* had passed the lips of the *Scottish* minister to his slaves, the ministers of the day, to whom for a short time he had delegated his omnipotence. They were empowered in a proper

proper manner to persuade the same famous majority in the lower House, which had been induced to approve the *peace of Paris*, and in the first year of it to establish the late detested *excise on cyder and perry*, not only to expel *Mr. Wilkes*, but likewise to vote him 'the author of the *North Briton*, No. 45, without the oath of any witness, or the shadow of legal proof. According to the constitution of England this being a fact ought to have been tried by a jury of twelve men, and not enquired into by witnesses at the bar, who were not sworn. This direct attack on the rights of their countrymen in so important a point as the trial by jury, would have surprized the world in any other body of men, but these had before voted away their own privileges, or rather the privileges of the nation, for they are strictly the rights of the constituents, who confer them on their representatives in parliament. The constitution gives privilege of parliament* as one of the best barriers against the violence of the crown, which might otherwise in an important moment, in the last noble struggle of expiring liberty, seize not *five*, as a former *Stuart* would have done, but *five hundred*, deputies of the people. They had done this in so intricate and doubtful a case, as that of a real or pretended libel. They even went so far as to thank the crown for the tender regard expressed for the privileges of the house in the case of *Mr. Wilkes*, although the Court of Common Pleas had unanimously released him, because his imprisonment was a violation of the privileges of the same house, and those judges on oath were obliged to consider the privileges of par-

* " It was not made to secure criminals, but to preserve the very life and being of Parliament, for when our ancestors considered, that the law had lodged the great powers of arrest, indictment and information in the crown, they saw the Parliament would be undone, if during the time of privilege the royal process should be admitted in any misdemeanour whatsoever, therefore they excepted none. Where the abuse of power would be fatal, the power ought never to be given, because redress comes too late.

" A Parliament under perpetual terror of imprisonment, can neither be free, nor bold; nor honest, and if this privilege was once removed, the most important question might be irrecoverably lost, or carried by a sudden irruption of messengers, let loose against the members half an hour before the debate."

Lords Protest. 29 Nov. 1763

parliament as a part of the law of the land. I suppose their decision in his favour against the two *Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Principal Secretaries of State*, who both signed the warrant of commitment, is now acknowledged to be *legal*, for the president of that court, who delivered their opinion and his own, has since been promoted to the first dignity in the law, and is at this hour Lord high Chancellor of Great Britain. In other instances, notwithstanding the clear precedent on their own *journals*, of a chief justice impeached for "having in an arbitrary manner granted divers *general warrants* for attaching the persons, and seizing the goods of his majesty's subjects," the express vote "that the searching and sealing of the chambers, studies and papers, of members of parliament, and issuing out warrants for that purpose, are breaches of privilege," and the remarkable case in point, "that Mr. Laurence Whittacre, being a member of parliament, and entering into the chamber of sir John Elliot, being likewise a member of that parliament, searching of his trunks and papers, and sealing of them, is guilty of a breach of privilege of parliament," and Mr. Wilkes had on the very first day of the session in 1763, made a complaint against the under-secretary, Mr. Wood, the solicitor of the treasury, Mr. Webb, &c. and all the facts were of public notoriety, yet the *majority* on the 14th of February 1764, arbitrarily voted that *the complaint* against them should be *discharged*, yet without any declaration of their reasons for so strange a proceeding, or asserting the innocence of the parties under so heinous a charge. The cruelty of Mr. Wilkes's treatment in the tower, to which he was committed a *close* † prisoner, and the suffering no person for three days to come near a member of parliament to bail him, although committed for a bailable offence, were likewise entirely overlooked by a *majority*, glorying in a blind

† "The law of England appoints imprisonment "in custodiam not in pœnam," acknowledges no *close* imprisonment, whereas I was kept with the most extreme rigour.

Algernon Sydney's apology in the day of his death. Page 173.

blind submission to the inhuman dictates of a cruel, despot-
tic, and remorseless minister. Thanks to the wisdom of our
ancestors, who planned the noble constitution of this coun-
try, that house of commons is now dead, but the me-
mory of their infamy is immortal. They were suffered to
die a natural death, although they had long survived the
good opinion, and totally lost the confidence, of their
masters. No age produced so great a number of profligate
and prostitute senators. After the total loss of the liberties
of Rome, Tiberius did not find a senate so slavish, and
even the pensionary parliament of Charles II. must now
cease to be the most infamous in the annals of England.

Mr. Wilkes continued very ill during the months of
January and February, nor was he tolerably recovered till
the end of April. He seldom ventured abroad even in March
that year. The majority had made a pretence that the *cer-*
tificate of his bad state of health was not authenticated be-
fore a *notary public*. He therefore in vindication of his ho-
nour transmitted to the speaker on the 5th of February a
fresh *certificate*, which proved that the former was in the
due form, and gave the particulars of his illness to that day.
This was attested by two *notaries public*, and the *English*
ambassador. The trials in the king's bench however came
on the 21st of February, the *alteration of the records* having
been made only the day before. The next French mail
brought to him languishing in bed, as a balm to his wounds,
an account of the surprizing transactions of those two days,
although by the preceding post he had received the most
positive assurances that the trials were put off, together with
copies of counter-notices, signed *summoning officer*, which had
been sent to several of the jury. Could he have known the
records would be *alter'd* after he had pleaded, he would cer-
tainly have given orders not to make any defence, and
have sought a constitutional remedy.

— — — — — * Could he suspect the *alteration*, which was deferred almost to the last hour? — — — — — personally went through the whole of this business. The *alteration of the records* was made — — — — — and — — — — — tried both the causes. The false and cankered *Scot*, whose pestilential breath blasted all our warriors' laurels, now exulted, and thought his — — — — — had made him for ever safe from the most dangerous of his enemies, for that Mr. Wilkes had received the *coup de grace* by the *new verdict*, and the *out-lawry*, which probably would follow. Could — — — — — have imagined that Mr. Wilkes would dare to return to England, I believe he would neither have — — — — — nor have ventured upon — — — — — the records.

The first plan of the *Scottish minister's* revenge was still deeper laid. A complaint had been purposely made to the — — — — — of — — — — — by the — — — — — of — — — — — that the name of — — — — — had been put to some notes of the *Essay on Women*. The — — — — — in this affair was however only co-adjutor to a lay — — — — —, *hominis post homines natos turpissimo, sceleratissimo, contaminatissimo*, who first moved the complaint, so much to the astonishment of his brother — — — — —, that one of them said, *he never before heard the devil preach a sermon against sin*. It had, there-

“ The common opinion among lawyers has always been, that no judge, in a criminal proceeding, ought to know any thing of the record before the trial comes on, unless one of the parties in open court move something thereon; because a judge is to be unprejudiced and impartial. The making of an immaterial alteration in any chamber would be folly, the making of a material one without consent, seems to be injustice seeing it might prevent and remove an objection fatal after trial, in arrest of judgment. And what attorney in his senses would complain to any court against the president in it? I challenge this sophist to produce one adjudged precedent of such an alteration. His supposition of there being no difference in legal signification between the words *tenor* and *purport* is grounded in ignorance; the former having been determined to import an exact recital, and the other only the general meaning and effect, of any deed or paper. For which reason the first has been held to be sufficient, and the other insufficient, to ground a conviction.”

Postscript to a letter, &c. p. 114.

therefore been determined that after the expulsion from the house of commons, which was already bargained for, he should be committed to Newgate on this ———— breach of the ———— privilege, and continue there till a verdict was found against him. He would then be in safe custody to receive the sentence of the king's bench. The success of this ministerial craft was certain, had Mr. Wilkes been in a capacity of returning to England at the beginning of the year 1764. When he was able, if he had returned during the lawless rule of an administration, which had sacrificed the liberties of the subject, and even their own security, to gratify the favourite's lust of revenge, he ought to have lodged in Moor-fields. He carried on steadily all this time the causes against lord Halifax, and they were only suspended by his *out-lawry*, which took place in November 1764. The day, on which the *writs of error* were allowed in 1768, he resumed the attack, and I believe his lordship will not now be much longer able to mock the justice of the nation. On the changes of the ministry in 1766, with pleasing, but delusive hopes, he twice

review'd his native shore,

Much fam'd for gen'rous steeds, for beauty store;

as old Homer says of Greece, and is equally true of England, but one of the ministers wanted the power, and the other the will, to do him justice. The Marquis was in his heart the warm friend of liberty and his country. The Duke was the friend of ———— Nancy Parsons's friend.

Mr. Wilkes was *out-lawed* for contumacy in not appearing to receive sentence. The courts of law have always looked on *out-lawries* as odious. The process of *out-lawry* is to compel an appearance: as soon as an appearance is made, the ———— satisfied. When therefore he came in-

to the ———— and declared an entire submission to the laws of his country, it was most natural to imagine the *out-lawry* would have ———— sentence been pronounced, and the law fully satisfied. His counsel insisted on this, and likewise pointed out many defects in the form of the *out-lawry*, which proved it erroneous and invalid. He had appeared, and declared himself the person, against

against whom two verdicts were found a ———
 but the most ——— ——— ———
 ——— ——— (*credite posteris!*) ———
 him, and he was suffered, notwithstanding the two con-
 victions on record, together with an *out-lawry*, to depart —
 ——— in as full security as any of the num-
 erous and astonished spectators. It was then the determina-
 tion to have ———. The ——— delivered
 by ——— on the ——— was composed, or rather
 translated from the Latin, about that time, evidently as an
 apology for the ——— of it. A week after this,
 Mr. Wilkes sent to the sheriff's officer to execute the
capias utlagatum upon him at a fixed hour in his own apart-
 ment. He attended the officer into court the same morn-
 ing, on the 27th of april, but it was not till the 9th
 of june, when the out-lawry was reversed. It was then at last
 declared originally null and invalid. This long delay was
 the more extraordinary, because by his express orders the
 council had refused to argue that point any more after the first
 hearing, although pressed to it by the ———. His
 reason was, that the public had declared an entire satisfac-
 tion in the state of the argument, as left by Mr. Serjeant
 Glynn. ——— reversed ——— on
 an error stated by the serjeant in the form, not on the —
 ——— ———, on which the greatest
 stress had been laid in the pleadings. This defect was the
 omission of two words, *pro comitatu*. ———
 ——— ——— ———
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The little piece of chicane I have mentioned in the Eng-
 lish law is only to be paralleled by a similar nicety among
 the Romans, which gave the pretext to a like reversal of the
 proscription of *Cicero*. The law against him was bad gram-
 mar and false latin; for the *tense* was mistaken. It was
 drawn

drawn by *Sextus Clodius*, the *W——b——n* of the Roman bar, but instead of *interdicatur* it was *interdictum sit*, which Cicero declares rendered it null. *At quid tulit legum scriptor peritus, callidus? Velitis, jubeatis, ut M. Tullio aqua et ignis interdicatur? non tulit ut INTERDICATUR: quid ergo? ut INTERDICTUM SIT.* Afterwards he observes, *Quid si iis verbis scripta est ista proscriptio, ut se ipsa dissolvat?* He gives the reasons at large, *quod factum non est, ut sit factum, ferri ad populum, aut verbis ullis sanciri, aut suffragiis confirmari potest? &c. &c.*

I shall now, sir, give you my opinion on another point of importance among the charges brought against Mr. Wilkes. He is said to have spurned at all law and government, to have raised and fomented the riots and tumults, so frequent of late years in this kingdom. The whole of his conduct demonstrates the injustice and malice of this charge. The distractions and confusions in all public affairs spring from a very different cause, from the general discontent of the people, who, in the fatal effects, observe and smart for the unhappy influence over the —— of a FREE country, which a man has obtained, *who wants wisdom, and holds principles incompatible with FREEDOM*, as Mr. Pitt said, although he has been contradicted by lord C——m. Mr. Wilkes has irreproachably the merit of a good subject, for he has always paid a due respect to the laws, a reverence to the constitution, an obedience to the power of the magistrate, and to all just authority. Under repeated oppressions by the hand of power he has only sought the legal redress. He has claimed the protection of the laws against acts of injustice, violence, and ministerial robbery. The laws have fully justified the appeal. His enemies have been convicted of many atrocious, illegal acts, and condemned by more than one sovereign court of justice. He is indeed, sir, a man *more-sinned against, than sinning*. After the sharpest provocations, the conduct of Mr. Wilkes has been cool, temperate and prudent. When he was released from the tower, he went soon into a retired part of Surry. He visited his friends in the city, after that triumph of the laws in his person over ministerial tyranny, only in the most pri-

vate manner, to avoid every possibility of a tumult among the people, who thought him greatly injured, and had warmly espoused his cause in gratitude to a man, *qui libertatem civibus stabiliverat*, in Tully's phrase. He did not make a vain, foolish progress through several counties, like the mad tory parson in queen Anne's time. He went only once into Buckinghamshire, and he chose the king's birth-day for the time of his coming among his constituents at Aylesbury, that the rejoicings on his return to them might distinguish that auspicious day. On the occasion he gave an entertainment to the Borough, after which he returned to town.

The same spirit of moderation and prudence dictated all his future measures, and he studiously avoided every thing, which could inflame. Since his last return to England, the City and Middlesex elections have given us fresh proofs of his love of decency, peace, and order. He exerted himself during the whole time of the poll at Guildhall to preserve the peace of the city, and his last words on quitting the hustings were, *Gentlemen, I r. commend it to you in the strongest manner to exert yourselves to preserve the peace and quiet of this great city.* That attention to the public good in such a moment of humiliation to an unsuccessful candidate carries with it in my idea particular merit, but the action, by which it was followed, gives it great lustre. The livery in general had been disgusted by the partiality of the first city magistrate, and irritated by the ministerial orders to vote for their creatures, which were issued from some of the boards. Those orders had appeared in most of the public prints. The people were fully informed of every transaction. They thought the election unfair from the beginning, and were farther provoked the last day at the shutting the great iron gates during the time of the poll, by which many of the livery were prevented getting into the hall. It was believed that they intended at the close, before the numbers could be cast up and proclaimed, to have seized and destroyed the poll books, that the whole proceedings, which they considered as irregular, might be void. The moment of the clerks delivering the poll books to the sheriffs on the

huffings in order to be cast up by them, was to have been the signal. Mr. Wilkes was informed of this, and he prevented it by retiring as soon as the poll was finished, before the books could be cast up, even by the clerks, and delivered. The greater part of the people, as on the former days, followed Mr. Wilkes. All the other candidates remained in the hall with their friends, the sheriffs proceeded to cast up the books, and the declaration of the numbers on the final close of the poll was by this prudent measure made with very little confusion. The former days of the poll Mr. Wilkes had attended the casting up of the books, even by the sheriffs, and the affixing of the numbers for public inspection at the upper end of Guildhall. One of the successful candidates thanked him publicly, as he was retiring from the huffings, for *the excellency of his conduct*.

The Middlesex election furnishes another proof of the care Mr. Wilkes has taken to maintain decency and good order. A great riot was apprehended, which seemed to be the favourite, and indeed then became the only resource of the other party. The *out-lawry* subsisting, they had with the basest views most falsely and infamously asserted in the public papers, that he might be killed like a wild beast, and ought to be shot like a mad dog, that such an action would be not only innocent, but meritorious. He dispersed through the county many thousand addresses to the freeholders, entreating their assistance for the preservation of the public peace, without a hint of his private safety. He might certainly have been attended by a numerous cavalcade to Brentford. Many of the freeholders pressed it as a proper, and the usual, measure; but he chose the most private manner, and went there the evening before the election with only one gentleman, whose friendship he ranks among the honours and blessings of his life. The election was carried through in the greatest freedom and order, with a general sobriety never before seen on such an occasion, entirely owing to the influence of Mr. Wilkes and his friends. On the same principle of preventing even the possibility of a tumult or riot, he declined the being *chaired*, and other usual honours.

I am ashamed, sir, to have dwelt so long on a point, which may be proved by the whole of Mr. Wilkes's conduct. Even his present situation has given him a glorious opportunity, which I do not recollect has happened to any other man, of shewing his obedience to the laws and to the civil magistrate. After the refusal of bail by his judges before sentence, in his way to prison he was rescued by his countrymen. The officers of justice, who had the charge of him, were in the utmost danger. Mr. Wilkes had that day the happiness of preserving three lives, although perhaps not the three he would have chosen from the whole species. Afterwards by a stratagem, and in disguise, he escaped into the prison, to which he had been sentenced in the morning. The marshal soon came, still pale, trembling, and aghast, ready to fall on his knees no less from fear than gratitude, thanked him in the warmest terms, and said, *it was impossible he could continue in the king's bench prison twenty four hours, if there was any honour in government.* He has now been there above half a year, and I dare say he will pass the next eighteen months in the same place, for although the envenomed cause of all his, and the nation's, wrongs, is fled, yet the sting is left behind. The *accursed thing* is not now indeed in the midst of us, but we do not know how soon the vengeance of heaven may for our sins chastise us in as full a measure of wrath as before. Since his letter to the king in the beginning of march, Mr. Wilkes has made no application to any person whatever respecting his pardon, and I prophecy that he will be left where he is till the 18th of April 1770, with only the testimony of a good conscience, the satisfaction of having done real services to his country, and the love of a grateful nation. He will then emerge with dignity and glory, for I believe he will have the confidence of the public enough to carry through many constitutional points of liberty, in conjunction with other true lovers of their country, and perhaps to compleat the plan of freedom, which even the glorious *revolution* left imperfect.

In the mean time under the weight of the most unjust oppressions, Mr. Wilkes's friends have the comfort of finding that he possesses peace and fortitude of mind, that he does not *bate a jot of heart or hope, but still bears up and steers right onward.* He might add that all he has suffered has been

*In liberty's defence, his noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.*

I hope he will atone for the dissipation of too gay a youth, and that the rest of his life will be usefully employed for this nation, whether in the gloom of a prison, or at large among cheerful and genial friends, of sense and honour, with a steady, disinterested and inviolable attachment to the cause of liberty. After a few tedious months he will look back with joy on his past sufferings, and the happy consequences of them to this kingdom. That reflection will give a keener relish to what I believe he may now expect since his return to England. I trust that he will no more be a wanderer, nor lost in the primrose path of pleasure, but that we shall see him on every great occasion sacrificing to *public virtue*, at all times happy and free in his native country, in the bosom of philosophy and friendship. Although he has suffered a long exile, and been broken on the wheel of fortune, yet being at last restored to the land of freedom, when all his cruel wounds are at length healed and forgotten, I expect that among his household deities he will erect a temple to LIBERTY, and dedicate an altar FORTUNÆ REDUCI.

I am, &c.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is an accurate copy of a genuine letter, the subject of which having very much engaged the public attention, you are at liberty to lay before your readers.

A. B.

S I R,

——— *Square, 27th July, 1768.*

I Am commanded by the k—— to acquaint you, that his m——, upon a consideration of the dispatches lately received from V——, thinks it necessary for his service, that his governor of that colony should immediately repair to his government ; and at the same time to express to you the high opinion his m—— has of your ability to serve him in that situation. But it is not the k——'s intention to press you to go upon that service unless it shall be perfectly agreeable to your inclination, as well as entirely convenient to you. His m—— does not forget that the government of V—— was conferred upon you as a mark of royal favour, and as a reward for the very great services you have done for the public, so much to your own honour, and so much to the advantage of this kingdom, and therefore his m—— is very solicitous that you should not mistake his gracious intention on this occasion.

If you chuse to go immediately to your government it will be extremely satisfactory to his m—— ; if you do not, his m—— wishes to appoint a new governor, and to continue to you in some other shape, that emolument which was, as I have said before, intended as a mark of the royal sense of your meritorious services ; it is a particular pleasure to me to have the honour of expressing to you these very favourable sentiments of our r—— m——. To add any thing from myself, would be a degree of presumption, I will therefore only request the favour of your answer as soon as may be convenient and take the liberty to assure you, that I am,

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

October 15. This day the earl of Chatham resigned his post of lord privy seal. Having found in a variety of late instances, that his advice was disregarded, and his influence in the state at an end, he chose to resign—The principle now adapted and pursuing with respect to America, is said to have been

been one cause of his resignation. And, amongst many others the following are added, the plan now forming by the united houses of Bourbon and Austria, to destroy the peace and liberty of Europe, being looked upon with indifference, and treated as an idle chimera by those who call themselves ministers. The high language lately held by the British minister at Paris upon the invasion of Corsica by the French, and the strong contradiction by authority given to it here. The memorial of a southern potentate, once the natural and firm ally of Great Britain, (but now necessitated to bow with humiliation to France and Austria for security, and submitting to take an annual stipend from France, as an equivalent for a territory, secured to him by treaty, the great object of his wishes, and the recompence for his services and sufferings in the common cause) representing the danger to Great Britain, as well as to himself in *the suffering France to acquire the empire of the mediterranean*, these are his words. The family compact beginning to operate in its utmost, and most dangerous extent; and not one effort made by Great-Britain to check its progress. Mr. Lynch appointed minister to the court of Turin, contrary to the resigner's recommendation, which was in favour of the earl of Tankerville. A general officer of unspotted character and unsullied honour driven from the service of his country, and banished into obscurity, lest his abilities, or his bravery should contribute to prevent the approaching distress. Public business has for some time been at a stand; or what is worse, it has been executed only by clerks. Men of profligate character, whose fortunes have been dissipated in scenes of lewdness and debauchery, placed in the great offices of honour, trust and emolument, with no other view but to aggrandize themselves at the expence of the public; and who knowing that their own date in office cannot be longer than while the shadow of peace is preserved, are daily disgracing and debilitating the state by the most infamous practices. Corruption at a height the most alarming and enormous, and practised in the most open and daring manner, to the danger both of the public liberty, and of the property of every individual in the kingdom. And to crown all, beyond their incomes, they are known to have accepted of an annual 500*l.* out of the minister's private pocket book, under the denomination of secret service as the reward for betraying their country, or rather, as it were, to plunge the fatal dagger into the vitals of her existence; the archfiend of corruption is now performing the part of *locum tenens* to the absent favourite; a wretch, who upon his legs in a certain assembly had once the hardiness to defend the principle and the

prac-

practice of corruption, and to add that the public business could not be carried on without it. * Is it not alarming to see such a man again trusted, and consulted; and is it not the highest impeachment of the public justice that his former conduct is suffered to sleep without enquiry? At the death of the late king, he was said to be worth at least a million sterling; and how much more hath he amassed by the peace and other jobs since?

October 21. In consequence of lord Chatham's resignation the earl of Shelburne resigned the seals of his office (secretary of state for the southern department) into his majesty's hand in the closet at St. James's.

He remember'd Argyll,
What he did ere while,
And he followed that step of his grace's;
Who seeing from far,
That there must be a war,
Resign'd his command and his places.

October 22. The earl of Rochford, who had been sent for from France, was made secretary of state. Lord Weymouth was removed to lord Shelburne's office, and lord Rochford succeeded lord Weymouth in the northern department.

No ambassador to France is appointed, though our affairs with that court are in a situation the most critical. No lord privy seal is appointed, though the perplex'd and distress'd condition of the British government, call daily for the assistance of all the great officers of state.

The

* One of the favourite's advocates speaks thus of the union between them. "Of all the indiscretions which are to be imputed to his lordship, that of leaguings with a hardy veteran, long hackney'd in the ways of corruption, was the most fatal and the most inexcusable. By this imprudent association, he, in some measure, put it out of his power to do the good he meditated. He might have been sensible, that such a colleague, would gain him no confidence with the public; that the interest created by his well-known mode of influence, was not only incompatible with his lordship's avowed intentions, but that in the hour of need, it would desert him, as it had abandoned his predecessor. If he had not intended to remedy the abuses of former administrations, he should not have accepted the high office he filled: As he proposed to redress them nothing could be more preposterous than to unite with the very man, who principally contributed to extend, and dared openly to avow, that corrupt system, which his lordship professed to reform." Considerations on the present dangerous crisis, page 13, published in 1763.

The earl of Egmont has been frequently applied to, both before and after lord Chatham's resignation, to take a department in the state; but he has prudently declined to dance upon other people's wires, though ready to take a share of the public burden when joined with men of abilities.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

TRANSLATION of a MEMORIAL presented April 25, 1768, by the Portuguese nation, to the royal board of Censure, (Censura) appointed by his most faithful Majesty to examine and revise all books, and to permit the printing, publishing, reading, and selling them in the kingdom of Portugal and its dominions.

SEARCH the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me, said our blessed Saviour to the Jews, who, as they thought the Scriptures contained what was necessary to obtain eternal life, he reasonably asked, why they did not search them, as they testified of his coming, and that he was the true Messiah foretold by the prophets? The application is as proper to the Jews of the present age permitted to reside in this country, and under the protection of a mild and happy government, and who in this free nation, have both the means and the power to search and examine them, and are without excuse if they do not.

Wo unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men; and ye neither go in yourselves; neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in; was a particular application by our blessed Lord to the scribes and pharisees, who were the great doctors among the Jews, the teachers and interpreters of the law of God; who under a pretence of interpreting the scriptures had perverted them, and kept the knowledge of them from the people, especially those prophecies of the Old Testament which concerned the Messiah, and by this means the kingdom of Heaven was shut against men, and they not only rejected the truth themselves, but by keeping men in ignorance of the true meaning of the Scriptures, they hindered many from embracing our Saviour's doctrine, and entering into the kingdom of Heaven; and in the present age, or for some hundred years past, it may with justice and reason be applied not only to the Jewish doctors, but particularly to the heads and governors of the church of Rome, the Pope and his councils;

who, as far as their power extends, lock up the Scriptures and the service of God from the people in an unknown tongue: What is this, but in effect to forbid men to know God and to serve him, to render them incapable of knowing what is the good and acceptable will of God, of joining in his worship, or performing any part of it, or receiving any benefit or edification from it? and what is, if this be not, to shut the kingdom of Heaven against men? this is so outrageous a cruelty to the souls of men, that it is not to be excused on any pretence whatever; this is to take the surest and most effectual way in the world, to destroy those for whom Christ died, and directly to thwart the great design of God our Saviour, who would have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. This tyranny that church have exercised over those of her communion for several hundred years; it grew upon them indeed by degrees, for as by the inundation of *barbarous* nations upon the Roman empire, the Romans lost their language by degrees, so the governors of that church still kept up the scriptures and the service of God in the latin tongue, which at last was wholly unknown to the common people; and about the ninth and tenth centuries, when by the general consent of all their own historians, gross darkness and ignorance covered this part of the world; the Pope and the Priests took away the key of knowledge, and did (as may be said) put it under the door for several ages, 'till the Reformation fetched it out again and rubbed off the rust of it. Hardly any thing in the world was ever more astonishing than this uncharitable and cruel usage of the people in the church of Rome. And who can tell which to wonder at most, the insolence of their governors in imposing upon men this senseless way of serving God, or the patience, if it may be so called, of the people in enduring to be so intolerably abused? Why should reasonable creatures be treated at this rude and barbarous rate? As if they were unworthy to be acquainted with the will of God, and as if that which every man ought to do, were not fit for every man to know; as if the common people had only bodies to be present at the service of God, but no souls; or as if they were all distracted and out of their wits, and it were dangerous to let in the light upon them.

It must give true satisfaction to all pious and good christians, to find that in most parts of Europe the errors of the church of Rome, are much inquired into, it's to be hoped with a design to rectify them. The Portugueze, who for many years, as by the confession of the memorial hereto

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annexed, lately presented by that nation to a board of learned men, authorised by his most faithful Majesty to examine books, &c. have been returned not only ignorant but barbarous, now seem to have lost all patience; for having been kept in slavery and ignorance, are no longer stupid, but like men who have recovered their wits, are desirous of knowing (that they may practice) the laws and commandment of God, and in this memorial truly deserving to be translated into all languages, and to the honour of the Portuguese nation to be transmitted to the latest posterity, they desire the old and new Testament may be translated into the vulgar tongue of that country; the reasons for this request are so cogent, strong, and necessary, that it's not to be doubted but the ministers will represent them in so true and just a light, that his Portuguese Majesty will consent, by the advice of his able and wise prime minister, to make his people happy and good; and immediately order some of the most able men of his and other kingdoms, to have such a translation of the old and new Testament in the Portuguese language, as will be esteemed by all the learned in Europe the most correct: His Majesty whose goodness of heart is well known to all his subjects, and to foreigners who have resided under his protection, will thereby merit not only the title of faithful, but the father of his people, to the honour of his present Majesty King Joseph, and to the glory of the Portuguese nation, conducted by the prudent and truly spirited councils of his Majesty's prime minister, his excellency the Count d'Oeyras, whose name will be handed down with esteem and reverence not only by the Portuguese, but by all wise and learned men in all nations to latest ages. The Jesuits, a set of men, whose characters will be infamous to the latest posterity, have been banished Portugal; and it's not to be doubted but his Majesty will continue to purge the church, of which he is the head; in his own dominions, of the many gross errors introduced into it by a set of men who have no longer influence in that country; and soon it's to be hoped will be like the knights templars, entirely abolished in all parts of the globe; as there are many men of sense and learning in Portugal, who want only encouragement and protection to convince the world they are neither barbarous, stupid, or have lost their wits; it's unnecessary to propose what errors should be purged, let but the cruel shocking tribunal of the inquisition be abolished; whose inquisitors like the Jesuits, have made the house of prayer a den of thieves; and permit the holy scriptures to be freely read in the Portuguese language; then

will the people examine what we Protestants teach, and will bring all our doctrines to the law and to the testimonies, that if they be not according to this rule, they may neither believe them, nor us: 'Tis only things false and adulterate which shun the light, and fear the touchstone. We have that security of the truth of our religion, and of the agreeableness of it to the word of God, that honest confidence of the goodness of our cause, that we do not forbid the people to read the best books our adversaries can write against it, And let any impartial man judge, whether this be not a better argument of a better cause, to leave men at liberty to try the grounds of their religion, than the courses which are taken in the church of Rome to awe men with an inquisition, and as much as possible to keep the common people in ignorance, not only of what their late adversaries the Protestants, but their chief and ancient adversaries the Scriptures, have to say against them.

At the present time, when the Romish and I may truly add, most of them unlearned priests, are endeavouring by little mean arts and practices, to entice some of the common people from the service of the true God, the memorial hereto annexed, wrote by a deluded people, but now opening their eyes, may bring them who have been deceived to their former senses.

THE MEMORIAL, &c.

Gentlemen,

THE tribunal of the inquisition having hitherto blindly followed all the maxims of the court of Rome, without examining how pernicious many of them were, to the king's authority, the public and private good, and to the divine illumination of the consciences of all who profess the same religion; and this proceeding, altho' erroneous, was, by the inquisitors, in some thro' ignorance, others thro' flattery, but in most, thro' fear and danger, which every person is in, the instant they disoblige, in the minutest thing, the ministers of that tribunal, esteemed right and just. However, it is well known, by all learned, judicious, virtuous and impartial men, that in this esteemed just and right proceeding, are found great injustice and absurd errors; evils which are attributed much more to the ancient statutes of that court, than to the ignorance or malice of the inquisitors, blameable only for blindly following those statutes, preferring the written obedience

science and execution of them, to the utility, the instruction, and the doctrine necessary to be practised.

Infinite thanks to Almighty God, to our august and faithful sovereign, and to his excellency count d'Oeyras his prime minister, for the resolution taken and put in practice, of recommending the revise of all books, which ought to be published in Portugal, to a new and supreme office, consisting of wise, honest, and humane men, to whom we may make our petitions, and represent our grievances, without dread of being ill received, and much less to be reproved by ministers, who not being subject to, nor prepossessed by, the ancient and erroneous statutes of the inquisition, are ordained by God and our sovereign, to reform with care, diligence, and Christian severity, all books which regard our present and future happiness.

The holy scripture is the compendium and deposite of the word and law of God. God himself expressly commands, all the inspired Prophets declare, Jesus Christ orders, and his holy Apostles and Evangelists teach, that all men should read, examine, and contemplate these sacred writings; the popes, the holy fathers, the most learned and the most pious doctors in the primitive age of Christianity, observed religiously this binding precept; and without ever thinking to prohibit the reading the Old and New Testament, all faithful Christians, of both sexes, had the consolation and satisfaction to read the word of God; to study his life, and execute his will, because they understood and knew what it was. Unhappily a time succeeded, when the exemplary lives of the bishops of Rome were so depravedly perverted, that, desirous of being themselves worshipped as gods, they lived and acted as if there was no true and only God. The great patrimonial estates which the kings of France conferred on these bishops, and the titles which their pride arrogated to themselves; the pretensions which they formed, and were founded on their sole ambition and arrogance, and practised during the imbecility, the weakness, and superstition of many princes, who were inveigled to consent to such abuses, incroachments, and errors, by the wicked counsels of jesuits who governed their consciences; all these changed into wickedness, the sanctity of those bishops; for in the holy scriptures, not one single word authorises their great disorders and scandalous proceedings; but on the contrary, the innovations and the alterations which they sacrilegiously introduced and established in the doctrine and dogmas of the Christian religion, are diametrically opposite

to the word of God. To conceal from the pious and good Christians, the iniquity of their enormous and detestable attempts, the popes were obliged to hinder and prohibit them the holy bible in the vulgar tongue. This cruel and criminal prohibition, had very little success; and we may add, was despised by all Christian nations and sexes, where the power of the inquisition was not established. The French, Germans, English, and Dutch Roman Catholics, or Protestants, enjoyed many editions of the holy scriptures, translated into their respective languages, and none of them were in the least culpable, nor any formal proceeding used against them, for reading and meditating on the word of God.

Notwithstanding the odious circumspection of the tribunal of the inquisition, venal slaves and blind followers to the decrees of the court of Rome, the bible is translated into Italian and Spanish; and thanks to the piety and learning of John Ferreyra de Almeida, our worthy compatriot, and to the missionaries of the king of Denmark in India, the Bible is there translated, altho' badly printed, in the Portuguese language: however, either from the distance, or the fear of the inquisition, it's certain we are deprived of this work, owing principally to the study and pains of the said father Ferreyra, priest of the Order of St. Peter, who, instead of being venerated and rewarded for so holy and so useful an undertaking, is not known in Portugal, but for the unjust and ridiculous treatment which he suffered in the inquisition of Goa, for the proofs he had given of his zeal to Christianity.

All the ancient ordinances of this kingdom, all new laws, all decrees, councils, proclamations, &c. which emanate from the throne, and by which our sovereign intimates his orders, and makes known to us his will; all these are wrote, printed, and published, in our mother tongue; to act contrary, would be the greatest absurdity; because, if published in Latin, few Portuguese would either understand, serve, or obey the king, so as to comply from the reason and cause of such laws, without which, no obedience can be esteemed legitimately true and obligatory.

The pope and the inquisition having hitherto hindered us the reading the holy scriptures in the vulgar language, we are obliged to declare, confess, and protest, before Almighty God, and in the face of all the world, that we are Christians without law; for excepting a few learned men, who understand Latin, all other Portuguese are totally ignorant of the law of God; calling themselves Christians, without having seen or
read

read the precepts, counsels, and doctrines which Jesus Christ has given them, and what the Holy Evangelists left in deposit in the New Testament. The remedy to this great evil, and very great error, is very necessary, and ought to be very quick; so that from what has been related with so much truth, sincerity, brevity, and clearness, the Portuguese pray and beg, that the free reading of the Holy Bible may be granted and conceded, without any restriction, in the same manner as was practised in the first ages of the church; ages truly blessed with learned and pious men, and in which Christianity made the greatest and most rapid progress; and until the Bible is translated into the Portuguese language, we desire and hope, that a free permission, and free course to all the versions of the Old and New Testament, in whatever language, may be suffered and permitted in Portugal and its dominions.

This request and desire being founded in truth, reason, and justice, no arguments are necessary to patronize them, neither do we alledge or point out any of the many proofs which authorizes them, being certain, that all of them are well known to the wise and intelligent ministers, to whom we have recourse: we only offer, that if the laws of the prince, on the knowledge and observance of which, depends our temporal interests, are made known to us in the mother and vulgar language, the law of God, on the intelligence and observance of which, depends the salvation of our souls, ought in consequence to be allowed, without the least obstacle, in the same language, and in all the known and vulgar idioms. We did not presume to make this petition to the inquisition, well knowing it would have been reprov'd and condemn'd; the ministers to whom we humbly present it, are not as the inquisitors, despotic; our will is law, so we judge it, and so we will have it, say the inquisitors, persecuting the innocent, and hiding from us the book of truth, without troubling themselves at the just murmurings of this nation, and the just criticisms of foreign nations, nor of the general scandal which their arbitrary proceedings have carried throughout the whole prudent, learned, and orthodox world; the misery and poverty they have brought on this nation, making or causing us to be esteemed, not only as ignorant, but as barbarians.

Our petition being in every respect just, and tending to a good end, we hope that all the ministers of which this board consists, will be favourable to us, counselling and determining, without delay, and unanimously, that the reading of the holy scriptures shall be amply and fully permitted us.

In case this favour should not be granted, which we think impossible, the Portuguese nation with justice hope, that the gentlemen

gentlemen ministers will produce solid, convincing, and demonstrative reasons, to shew all the world, and the Portuguese nation in particular, what we think still more impossible, and that is, evidently to prove that men may see without light or eyes; and that they may observe the law of God, and follow the doctrine of Jesus Christ, without the least knowledge of the sacred books, wherein this doctrine is divinely deposited.

Truth is the daughter of God, and should be the guide for all mortals; all men living cannot deny or refute what is contained in this petition; for this reason we make it public, desiring that all Europe may have knowledge of our just requests, hoping, that our superiors will attend to us with the justice they owe to God, themselves, their own nation, and all the universe. Lisbon, 25 April, 1768.

FROM ALGERNON SIDNEY'S DISCOURSES ON GOVERNMENT

Quarto Edition, page 214.

“THESE men have neither will nor knowledge to do good, as soon as they come to be in power justice is perverted, the public treasures exhausted, new projects invented to raise more; and the prince's wants daily increasing, through their ignorance, negligence or deceit, there is no end of their devices and tricks to gain supplies. To this end, swarms of spies, informers, and false witnesses, are sent out to circumvent the richest, and most eminent men: the tribunals are filled with court parasites, of profligate consciences, fortunes and reputation, that no man may escape who is brought before them. If crimes are wanting, the diligence of well-chosen officers and prosecutors, with the favour of the judges, supply all defects; the law is made a snare; virtue suppressed, vice fomented, and in a short time, honesty and knavery, sobriety and lewdness, virtue and vice, become badges of the several factions; and every man's conversation and manners, shewing to what party he is addicted, the prince who makes himself head of the worst, must favour them to overthrow the best, which is so straight a way to an universal ruin, that no state can prevent it, unless that course be interrupted. And whoever would know whether any particular prince desires to encrease or destroy the bodies and goods of his subjects, must examine whether his government be such as renders him grateful or odious to them; and whether he do pursue the public interest, or for the advancement of his own authority set up one in himself contrary to that of his people; which can never befall a popular government; and consequently, no mischief equal to it can be produced by any such, unless something can be imagined worse than corruption and destruction.”

For the POLITICAL REGISTER:
*American considerations on the nature and extent of the British
 Parliamentary power.*

Written and printed at Philadelphia in the Year 1768.

“ Those laws therefore that I call *leges scriptæ*, or such
 “ as are usually called statute laws, which are originally re-
 “ duced into writing, before they are enacted, or receive any
 “ binding power; every such law being formerly made, as
 “ it were, an *indenture* - *et ipartite*, between the king, the
 “ lords, and the commons; for without the concurrent con-
 “ sent of all these three parts no such law is or can be made.”

Hale's hist. of the common law.

IT seems to me the distinguishing characteristic of the *Eng-
 lish* constitution that no freeman shall be restrained in the
 exercise of his natural liberty, or, in the use of his acquired
 property but by those regulations to which he has *really* or
virtually subscribed. Laws which are the result of such a
 rational and well-digested compact, may bear hard upon some,
 but they cannot, with propriety, be complained of by any,
 since every precaution which the wit of man could devise,
 was necessarily employed for the benefit of the whole united
 body, after a due attention to the separate interest of each.

The lords and commons, with the approbation of the crown,
agree to regulate their trade by well-placed restrictions, and
 settle the establishment of their manufactures in such a man-
 ner as shall be most conducive to the public good. In all
 these disposing and restraining laws the interest of the whole
 community is consulted, and the spirit of the constitution pre-
 served inviolate.

But, when the lords and commons of *England*, by *formal
 compact* with the crown, attempt to bind those, who can by
 no means be considered as parties to their agreement, they
 discard those noble principles to which they owe the enjoy-
 ment of all that is valuable in life, and introduce power in
 the place of reason to support a system which has its founda-
 tion in partial, not in universal good. For, can any thing
 be more evidently partial, or more inconsistent with the prin-
 ciples of common justice, than that the lords and commons
 of *England* should ** give* and *grant* to his Majesty any sum
 which they may think proper, to be levied, by any mode
 which they may please to devise, upon his *American* subjects,
 perhaps

“ * WHAT PROPERTY HAVE THEY IN THAT WHICH ANO-
 “ THER MAY, BY RIGHT, TAKE WHEN HE PLEASES, TO
 “ HIMSELF?”
 LOCKE on Government.

perhaps for the payment of a subsidy to some Prince of the Empire for the defence of his majesty's electoral dominions? If the absurdity and injustice of such a procedure is to be discovered by every eye, we shall not be long before we clearly perceive, through all the mists of ingenious sophistry, that, upon the indispensable principles of their own constitution, the lords and commons of *England* can no more covenant with the crown for the limiting and restraining our natural liberty than they can agree to give and grant the most valuable of our property to be disposed of for their own private purposes.

The more I consider this maxim, which I have taken from my Lord C. Justice *Hale*, the more sensible am I of its weight and importance. To perceive its full force, it will be necessary to look back to the first dawn of freedom, when the good people of *England*, would no longer submit to have their liberty and property arbitrarily disposed of by the royal fiat. Conscious of their own importance, they, at first, only claimed a privilege of recommending by petition, such measures as they might conceive necessary for the public good. In this humble form did the spirit of liberty first appear, while the power of the crown continued for ages almost unlimited in its extent, and uncontrouled in its operation. But, when an attention to the true interests of the nation, established their manufactures and extended their commerce, the common people readily shook off their servile dependance upon their lords, and gladly embraced an opportunity of acquiring that affluence of riches which was the firmest foundation of their future liberty. Those, whose situation had lately been that of the most abject vassalage, now suddenly found themselves raised, by their own industry, to the possession of wealth and independence. Proud of such valuable and important acquisitions, they only waited for that information, which was the child of time and experience, to direct their steps in the pursuit of measures which were to establish the most solid security for that liberty and property which they had so lately acquired.

Before science extended her happy influence over this rising nation, their progress in the paths of liberty was but slow and irregular, interrupted by events which they were too short sighted to foresee, and obstructed by revolutions which no human prudence could prevent. But, when their acquisition of knowledge, from a careful examination of the past, enabled them not only to regulate the present, but even to penetrate into the remote regions of future contingency, every revolving year furnished them with some opportunity to improve

prove and enlarge their system of liberty. With every assistance which human wisdom could bestow, supported by the experience of ages, they have at last fixed the foundation of their freedom upon such principles as will for ever stand the test of the most critical examination. Careful to guard those blessings for which they had so industriously laboured, they established this as a fundamental maxim—that no new regulation could be framed, nor any old law abrogated but by the *general consent* of the nation. Such a consent as must be evidenced by a majority of votes in the different estates of the kingdom—the lords in their proper persons assenting, while the sense of the common people is known from the voices of their representatives. Can any thing less than infinite wisdom elaborate a system more perfect than that which so effectually secures the happiness of every individual—which admits no law as obligatory but upon those who are *expressly parties*, or have actually subscribed to the obligation?

If these be as they certainly are, the well digested principles of the *English* constitution, with what appearance of reason can the warmest zealot for the superiority of *Great-Britain* assert that the legislative power of parliament is *sovereign and supreme*?

Shall the freemen of *New-York* be reduced to a state of subordination, and deprived of those invaluable privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of that city, which has given a name to their province, because they are unfortunately placed a thousand leagues further from the presence of their sovereign; and, instead of preferring their petitions immediately to the royal ear, can only apply to his deputy for a redress of their grievances, and for the framing such regulations as the infant state of the colony may require? This would be heightening the misfortune of their situation by the most flagrant injustice.

When the emigrants from *Great-Britain* crossed the *Atlantic* to settle the deserts of *America*, they brought with them the spirit of the *English* government. They brought with them the same duties to their sovereign which the freemen of *England* at that time acknowledged; and they very naturally supposed, that, under his direction, they should be allowed to make such regulations as might answer the purposes of their emigration. Ever mindful of their duty and allegiance to their Prince, they cannot easily conceive that they left their brethren the freemen of *England* vested with a *sovereign supreme power* to restrain their † *natural Liberty*, or to dispose of their

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acquired

† *De plus, le droit de propriété n'étant que de convention, et d'insti*

acquired property. Removed at an immense distance from the seat of government, they could no longer join the national council; but, as the very spirit of the *English* constitution required it, they naturally applied to their Prince for such protection and assistance, as might raise them to an equality with their brethren of *England*; from whom they only requested their friendly patronage, during the weakness of their infant state.

The formula of their government once settled in some measure to their satisfaction, with the concurrence of those officers appointed by the crown, the inhabitants of these new settlements, ever faithfully preserving in their memory the principles of that happy government which they had just quitted, totally disclaim all † *subordination* to, and dependence upon the two inferior estates of their mother country. Without the power—without the inclination to disturb the tranquility of those to whom they stand so nearly related, they wish to promote an amicable intercourse, founded upon reciprocal interest; without allowing or submitting to any laws, but those which they themselves have made, by *regular agreement* with the deputy of the Crown properly authorized for that purpose. To suppose the *British* parliament to be vested with a sovereign and supreme legislative power over the colonies, is advancing a supposition inconsistent with the principles of their own constitution; and to assert the *necessity* of subordination from the nature of our situation, without attempting to prove that necessity, is really treating an affair of the utmost importance with

tution humaine, tout homme peut, à son gré disposer de ce qu'il possède: Mais il n'en est pas de même des dons essentiels de la nature, tels que la vie et la liberté, dont il permis à chacun de jouir, et dont il est au moins douteux qu'on ait droit de se dépouiller. ROUSSEAU.

Mais quand on pouvoit aliéner sa liberté comme ses biens, la différence seroit très grande pour les enfans, qui ne jouissent des biens du père que par transmission de son droit, au lieu que la liberté étant un don qu'ils tiennent de la nature en qualité d'hommes, leurs parens n'ont eu aucun droit de les en dépouiller. ibid.

† *A subordination not only incompatible with the principles of the English constitution, but even not to be reconciled to the law of nature if we admit as just the following definition.*

“ On commence par rechercher les règles, dont pour L'Utilité commune il seroit à propos que les hommes convinssent entre eux; & puis on donne le nom de loi naturelle à la collection de ces règles sans autre preuve que la bien qu'on trouve qui résulteroit de leur pratique universelle.” ROUSSEAU.

with too little § attention. Those who may probably be most seriously affected by this doctrine, very naturally require something stronger than general assertions to support it, although those assertions may be advanced by the best and wisest man of the nation.

Perhaps it may not be such an irreconcilable paradox in policy to assert, that the freemen settled in *America* may preserve themselves absolutely independent of their fellow subjects who more immediately surround the throne, and yet discharge, with the strictest fidelity, all their duties to their sovereign. They may not only be loyal and valuable subjects to their Prince, but useful and necessary neighbours to their brethren of *Britain*.

The colonies may, with no great impropriety, be considered as so many different countries of the same kingdom, the nature of whose situation prevents their joining in the general council, and reduces them to a necessity of applying to their Prince for the establishment of such a partial policy as may be the best adapted to their particular circumstances, and, at the same time, the most conducive to the general good. That this partial policy, settled for every distinct part, may not interfere with the general welfare of the whole, the restraining power lodged in the Crown will always be able to insure; since we cannot suppose that a wise and just Prince would ever consent to sacrifice the interest and happiness of any one part to the selfish views of another.

As a commercial people, while blessed with the same advantages which the inhabitants of *Great-Britain* enjoy, our interest may sometimes clash with theirs. This is an inconvenience which may, at some future period happen, in the extent of our trade: But shall this possible inconvenience be a sufficient authority for stripping us of all the most valuable privileges in society? Shall we be reduced to the most abject state of dependence, because we may possibly become formidable rivals to our jealous brethren, if we are allowed to maintain that equality which we have received from nature, and which we find so firmly supported by the laws of our mother country?

Nostri autem magistratus, imperatores que ex hac una re maximam laudem capere studebant, si PROVINCIAS, si SOCIOS EQUITATE ET FIDE DEFENDERENT.

Cic. de Off.

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§ Qui statuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera æquum licet statueris, hæc æquus fuerit.

SENEC Med.

There is no reasoning against those prejudices which are the support of particular interest, or I would ask why my being born in the island of *Great-Britain* should vest me with a power to tie the hands of my *American* neighbour, and then justify me in picking his pocket; although this same *American* should be a loyal subject of the same Prince, and formally declared to be possessed of all the liberties and privileges of a *British* subject? How absurd and unmeaning must this specious declaration appear to one who sees and feels the force of the present violent struggles for reducing us to a state of infamous vassalage?

That right honourable and worthy gentleman who exerted his extensive influence to ward off from the devoted colonies that blow which would have effected their immediate ruin, has been pleased to make these declarations in our favour---- "They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled "with ourselves to all the *natural rights* of mankind, and the "peculiar privileges of *Englishmen*, equally bound by the "laws, and equally participating of its constitution. The "*Americans* are the sons, not the bastards of *England*." And yet, in the same speech he asserts the authority of *Great-Britain* over the colonies to be *sovereign* and *supreme* in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. If the latter part of this declaration be by any means reconcilable with the former, I must forfeit all pretensions to reason; since, after the most careful disquisition which I am capable of making, I cannot discover how any inhabitant of the colonies can be said to enjoy the *peculiar privileges* of *Englishmen*, when all that he holds valuable in life must lie at the mercy of that unlimited power, which is so repeatedly said to be *sovereign* and *supreme*. An authority established upon partial principles, and such as must be supported by the force* of arms more than the force of reason, if it is to survive any distant period.

I have the highest veneration for the character and abilities of Mr. Pitt, and scarcely dare indulge myself in a train of reasoning, which evidently points out to me the most striking inconsistency in the sense of his famous speech upon *American* affairs. From the best evidence which I am capable of receiving, I cannot but be clearly convinced that our liberty must be only ideal, and our privileges chimerical, while the omnipotence of parliament can "bind our trade; confine "our manufactures, and exercise every power whatever ex-

cept

* Le contrat de gouvernement est tellement dissous par le despotisme que le despote n'est le maître qu'aussi long tems qu'il est le plus fort; et que sitôt qu'on peut l'expulser il n'a point à réclamer contre la violence.

“cept that of taking money out of our pockets without our consent.” If this sovereign power, which they so warmly assert, should be once tamely conceded, to what trifling purpose have we exerted ourselves in our opposition to the stamp act? At best, we have but put off the evil day.—We have not combated the *reality*, but the *mode* of oppression. We have only gained a temporary reprieve, till some future minister, shall think proper to employ this unbounded legislative power for the horrid purpose of reducing three millions of people to a state of abject slavery.

If our sovereign lords, the commons of *England*, have been led, by their jealousy, to strike so bold a stroke at both our liberty and property, what danger may we not apprehend from the same selfish principles, when they may be influenced by the deep-laid schemes of some able statesman? Under such pernicious influence the chains of *America* may be forged and rivetted, while her incautious sons are lulled in a state of security. The power of taxation given up to their spirited opposition, the excess of their joy will not suffer them to indulge any gloomy reflections upon that *dangerous reserve of legislation*. The present evil averted, the warmth of their sanguine dispositions will not allow them to think that oppression may return at any other time, or in any other form. Their very gratitude and humility prevent their enquiring into a cause of the last importance. In the highest exultation of heart at a concession scarcely expected, they receive as a matter of *favour* what they demanded as a matter of *right*; and, to avoid an appearance of arrogance in urging any new demands, they neglect the discharge of the most essential duties to themselves and their posterity. Perhaps they will scarcely thank the man who shall endeavour to convince them, that the simple power of legislation may as effectually ruin the colonies as that of taxation.

Mr. G———*He* says, that *internal* and *external* taxes are the same in *effect*, and differ but in name. Mr. Pitt has indeed treated this opinion with so little attention, that he has only answered it by a general assertion——“that there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade.

Plain as this distinction is, my most industrious enquiries have not yet led me to it; and I cannot but think with Mr. G———*He*, that they are the same in *effect*.—The one is precisely determined, while the other is more uncertain and eventual; but, in proportion to the sum raised, the effect will be exactly the same. It is taken for granted that the collecti-

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on of a stamp duty would drain us of all the specie which we receive as a balance in our *West-India* trade. If an exorbitant duty laid upon sugar and molasses produces the same effect, in what does the difference consist? By either means the treasury of *England* will be enriched with the whole profit of our labour, and we ourselves shall be reduced to that deplorable state of poverty, of which we have, at this very moment, a most affecting instance. General as the calamity is now become, there are few so uninformed as not to know that the power of legislation has done all this mischief, without any assistance from that of taxation. The severe restrictions imposed upon our trade, have made it impracticable for us to answer every foreign demand, and, at the same time reserve a sufficient stock to keep up that circulation of property so necessary to the well being of society.

Involved in heavy debts, without any prospect of discharging them, in want of the necessaries of life, without the means of acquiring them; Mr. G——— has furnished us with the most interesting facts to prove the truth of his doctrine. He has bestowed upon them the most irrefragable proof that internal and external taxes are the same in effect; and that they may be as effectually ruined by the powers of legislation as by those of taxation.

When the parliament of *Great-Britain* arrogate to themselves this sovereign jurisdiction over the colonies, I should be glad to know on what principles they found their claim. Do they ground their pretensions on the excellent principles of their own constitution, or is this supremacy a power *virtually inherent* in the name of parliament? A name which should remind them of their original state of humility, when the distinguishing power which they boasted was a privilege of *speaking their mind* and remonstrating their grievances. The Lords indeed may, with some appearance of reason, assert a supreme jurisdiction over the whole body of the nation, as the highest court of judicature: But when an aspiring member of the Commons-House confidently declares that he has a power to bind our trade, and restrain our manufactures, I should be glad to know whether he derived this power from the honest freemen his constituents, or whether he acquired it by virtue of his office? From his constituents he could receive no more power than they *naturally possessed*; and, from his office he cannot reasonably be supposed vested with any other authority than that of deciding upon the formalities, and punctilios annexed to it.

To grasp at a jurisdiction so infinitely extensive, and so little capable of limitation, is expressly declaring, that, from
the

the antiquity of their establishment, they are become sovereigns of the new-discovered world. Upon some such arbitrary principles must they ground their unreasonable pretensions; since no man in his senses will assert that an inhabitant of *Birmingham* or *Manchester* has a *natural right*, after having obtained the consent of the Crown, to restrain, and prevent an industrious settler of the colonies from engaging in those particular manufactures which may interfere with the business of his own profession. Absurd as this assertion is, either this must be maintained, or one full as pregnant with absurdity; since one may with as much reason suppose this *natural superiority* in the freemen of *Great-Britain*, as this *acquired sovereignty* in the collective body of their representatives. Whatever reasons they may devise to support this extraordinary claim, their motives are clearly evinced in that part of Mr. *Pitt's* speech, where he says—"If the legislative power of *Great-Britain* over *America* ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands and embark for that country." A jealous fear, that, from the many natural advantages which we possess, we may, in some future age, rival our envious brethren in strength and riches, has urged them to exertise a piece of Ottoman policy, by strangling us in our infancy. When we examine into the nature of those fears which have already proved so fatal to our interest, the slightest examination shews them as contemptible and ill-grounded as were ever entertained by the most selfish of mankind.

Had not this refined policy of our *British Machiavel* interfered, and roused us to attention, we should, in all human probability, have continued for many centuries the faithful drudges of our indulgent mother; and *Great-Britain* would have increased in strength and riches in proportion to the population of her colonies. While our commerce continued unrestrained we should industriously have cultivated every branch of it, that we might be enabled to pay punctually to *Great-Britain*; that balance which would every year increase; since our attention to the settling an immeasurable extent of country would effectually prevent our establishing such manufactures as would furnish us with the necessaries of life.

Had I sufficient information to enter into a minute detail of facts, I believe it would be no difficult matter to prove, that, in the course of our most successful commerce, *Great-Britain* receives nine-tenths of the profit; whilst we are humbly contented with being well fed and clothed as the wages of our labour.

If this inferiority be the consequence of a reasonable con-

nection, why would they wish to reduce us to a state of abject dependence? Or, if with the advantages which they already possess, a fair unlimited trade would bring into their hands all the specie which we could draw from the *West-Indies*, why would they wantonly use such detestable measures as they have lately pursued, to effect the same purpose?

If the present severe system of politics be the result of unreasonable jealousy, I will venture to assert that this very policy will counteract its own intention. Their distresses first led the colonists into enquiries concerning the nature of their political situation, and the justice of the treatment which they had received. That ignorance which had kept them in a state of peaceable submission fled before their eager researches after that information which was so essentially necessary to the preservation of their liberty. Enraged to find, that, while they had been amused with the specious title of fellow subjects; and flattered with the rights of *British* freemen, they were in reality treated as infants in policy, whose every motion was to be directed by the arbitrary will of their jealous parent; when every such direction evidently tended to reduce the one to an abject state of dependence, and to raise the other to the most exalted superiority. That both these purposes could easily have been obtained, by measures artfully managed, is not to be doubted, since nothing but the most violent oppression could have roused us from our state of stupefaction to a proper degree of attention. But when our sensibility was excited by the most pointed injustice, rage instantly succeeded that tranquility which had been nourished by our imaginary security. Warmed with a sense of the injuries which we suffered, neither our gratitude nor our fear could prevent our asserting those rights, the possession of which can alone determine us freemen; and, though we could not but see that superiority of power which could "*crush us to atoms*," yet could we have found even in the modern history of *Europe* so many examples for our encouragement, that we should not have despaired of assistance sufficient to preserve us from the worst of evils.

Quam vos facillime agitis, quam estis maxume potentes, dites, fort. n. ti, nobiles, tam maxume vos aequo animo aequa nascere oportet, si vos vultis perhiberi probos. Terent. Adelph.

The advocates for the sovereignty of *Great Britain*, enumerate amongst the other obligations by which we are bound, the favours which she has constantly conferred, and the support which we have continually received. If we could reasonably suppose a whole political body, actuated by the same passions which may influence an individual, then, indeed there

there would be some foundation for our acknowledgements; but when we plainly perceive that the bounties which *Great Britain* is said to lavishly to have bestowed upon us, are meted out in the common political measure, with an evident intention finally to promote her own particular benefit, we can only say that her actions are the result of good policy, not of great generosity. As for the support which they have given us in time of danger, if it did not immediately arise from the same motive which has produced their other favours, I am still amazed that it should be even mentioned by those who have lavished so much blood and treasure for the maintenance of an *imaginary balance*, or in defending those who never thanked them for their defence.

The most superficial examination must serve to convince us that the battles of *Great Britain* could no where have been fought with so much advantage as in the woods of *America*; where her troops could be supplied with all the necessaries of life upon the easiest terms, and from whence all the money which they expended immediately returned in immense payments for the extraordinary importations of her manufactures which the exigencies of the war required. Thus was the whole expences of the *American* war very far from lessening the strength or riches of the nation; while her forces, which were not sufficient to make any considerable impression upon the body of our natural enemy, were enabled to lop off one of its most valuable limbs, in effecting this glorious purpose I will venture to mention the assistance which they received from the provincial troops as an aid of more importance than is generally allowed. I will even take the liberty to assert, that the colonists, in proportion to their *real ability*, did more for the general cause than could reasonably have been expected, if not more than *Great Britain* herself. This assertion I fancy, will gain more credit now than it would have gained some time ago; since the eyes of the world are at last open, and they must, if they are not wilfully blind, plainly discover, that the estimates of our wealth which have been received from ignorant or prejudiced persons, are, in every calculation, grossly erroneous. These misrepresentations, which have been so industriously propagated, are very possibly the offspring of political inventions, as they form the best apology for imposing upon us burthens to which we are altogether unequal. The easy faith which every absurd information obtained, and the precipitate measures, which were the consequence of this unreasonable credulity, must sufficiently convince us, that while we are within the reach of parliamentary power, we shall not be suffered to riot in a super-

fluity of wealth, or to acquire any dangerous degree of strength. Whatever advantages may hereafter present themselves, from an increased population, or a more extended trade, we shall never be able to cultivate them to any valuable purpose; for, how much soever we may possess the ability of acquiring wealth and independence, the partial views of our selfish brethren, supported by the sovereignty of Parliament, will most effectually prevent our enjoying such invaluable acquisitions.

If any alteration in our system of agriculture, should furnish us with a sufficiency of the necessary articles for the establishment of the most valuable manufactories, and an increase of population should enable us to carry them on to the greatest advantage, the manufacturers of *Great Britain*, jealous of such a formidable encroachment, would easily obtain the interposition of our sovereign directors; who would very naturally ordain, that we should export our unwrought materials to be laboured by our more skilful brethren, and dispatch our superfluous inhabitants in search of another vacant world; And, if the extent of our commerce should draw into our hands the wealth of all the *Indies*, the same unlimited authority would always carefully provide ways and means for conveying the whole into the treasury of *England*. Perhaps some future minister refining upon the system of his predecessors, may make the powers of legislation answer the purposes of oppression as effectually as the severest taxation.

The measures which have already been pursued almost give to conjecture the force of conviction; since no man can have been so inattentive to the most interesting facts as not to know that the power of Parliament, exerted in the single instance of restraining our trade, has already reduced us to *inconceivable distress*. Denied the means of acquiring specie sufficient for the purposes of a general circulation, and limited in the emission of our paper currency, men of considerable real estates became unable to answer the most trifling demands: and, when urged by creditors, perhaps as much perplexed as themselves, their lands are sold by execution for less than half their former value. This, as one of the most striking inconveniencies, attending the late unseasonable exertion of parliamentary power, I have selected for observation, from a very extensive catalogue of grievances which it has already produced and of which we are at this moment most severely sensible. I am led to my choice of this particular fact from a consideration of the fatal consequence by which it may possibly be attended, should the merchants of England immediately demand a rigid payment of the general balance due to them. It is not an easy matter to conceive how much our

pro-

property may be affected by so unseasonable a demand ; since the calamity would, by a regular connection, extend from the lowest to the highest member of society. But, as it was never my intention to enter into a minute detail of facts, I shall content myself with offering such loose, desultory observations as may serve to direct others in their researches after more particular information upon the most interesting subject. In the further pursuit of this design, I shall just take the liberty to observe upon the resolves of the commons of February 1766 ; that the severe censures which they so liberally bestow upon us, are evidently inconsistent with the principles upon which they are supposed to have voted the repeal of the Stamp-act.

From these resolves we may very reasonably suppose that the repeal was more immediately founded upon the *in-expediency* of the act, than upon a conviction that they had exerted an *unconstitutional power*. Had they been willing to allow this act as invasive of an indisputable right, they would not so severely have censured us for our daring opposition, and lavished such praises upon those whose selfish views or slavish principles made them so readily subscribe to the infallibility and omnipotence of parliament.--A peaceable submission to the first attacks of encroaching power, is altogether incompatible with the genius of liberty ; nor could it reasonably be expected, that, in such a sudden and dangerous invasion of our most estimable rights, the form of opposition could be perfectly modelled by the hand of prudence. Violent and precipitate as our measures were, they wanted nothing but success to sanctify them ; since the most superficial observer cannot but have discovered, that, in the political world right and wrong are merely *arbitrary modes* totally dependent upon the rise and fall of contending parties.

The people of England very justly dissatisfied with the tyrannic conduct of a weak prince, made the boldest struggles for the support of their languishing liberty. In their first ill-directed efforts under the unfortunate *Monmouth*, the justice of their cause could not save them from the pains and penalties of *open rebellion* : But when a prince of military abilities gave them his powerful assistance, they suddenly effected the preservation of their freedom and distinguished so important an event by the title of a *glorious revolution* ; so much influence has success in rating the merit of our political conduct.

When the committee of the house resolve, in the most general and expressive terms, that the authority of parliament over the colonies is *sovereign and supreme in every respect*

ever

war, there is no reasoning against so formidable a resolution, supported by the power of the whole kingdom. We can only remark that the same house has heretofore resolved to take under their own particular direction, the rights of the people, the privileges of the lords, and the sovereignty of the Crown; and for a long time maintained this unnatural usurpation.

If they did not suffer the passions of the man to influence the judgment of the senator, they would never treat that as a point of honour which should be only considered as a matter of right.

If, upon a cool, dispassionate enquiry, it may appear that the commons of Great-Britain, have no *natural* or *acquired* superiority over the freemen of America, they will certainly do us the justice to acknowledge this very reasonable independence, and not endeavour to enslave millions to promote the honour and dignity of a few ambitious individuals.

In supporting this doctrine of independence, I have established as an incontrovertible truth, this very accurate definition of my lord C. J. Hale — That every act of parliament is a tripartite indenture of agreement between the three estates of the kingdom. If this maxim be not disputable, I very humbly conceive that every consequence I have drawn from it, is fairly and logically deduced; for it cannot, but with the most glaring absurdity, be supposed, that the parties to these political agreements may legally bind those who are not in any wise privy to them.

The very spirit of the English constitution requires, that general regulations framed for the government of society, must have the sanction of *general approbation*; and, that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, but, by the force of those laws to which he has voluntarily subscribed. These principles once acknowledged as the foundation of English liberty, how can the colonists be said to possess the *natural rights of mankind*, or the *peculiar privileges of Englishmen*, while they are every day liable to receive laws framed by persons ignorant of their abilities——unacquainted with their necessities, and evidently influenced by partial motives? If my zeal for the good of my country has not clouded my judgment, I dare still so far depend upon the principles which I have established, as to assert, that while the power of the British parliament is acknowledged *sovereign and supreme in every respect whatever*, the liberty of America is no more than a flattering dream, and her privileges delusive shadows.

While I relate matters of fact, from the best evidence which I am capable of receiving, if I have misrepresented them, I lie open to contradiction; and, when I recapitulate the principles from which I have drawn my reasoning, I am not so obstinately attached to my own opinion as to be proof against conviction. If I am guilty of any errors in the course of this unconnected performance, they must be attributed to my not having received sufficient information, or to my want of ability in using the materials which I had acquired. I have never wilfully misrepresented a fact, nor designedly drawn from it a fallacious consequence. I have not laboured to establish any favourite system, and, with the vanity of a projector, supported it at the expence of my veracity.

But however trifling this performance may appear, both my head and my heart have co-operated in its production, and I really sat down—"to write what I thought, not to think what I should write."

*Ardeo, mihi credite—incredibili quodam amore patriæ—
quod volent denique homines existiment; nemini ego possum esse
bene de republica merenti non amicus.* CICERO.

A CITIZEN.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The GOUT and a late STATESMAN.

A Dialogue.

Statesman. A H! what again, renew your visit vile!

Gout. Your bitter malice makes me now but smile;

You toil in vain, in vain your throbs begin,
I feel a thousand sharper pains within;
Your pangs but mitigate my greater smart,
Meer cordials to my harraisd mind and heart.

Gout. I'll plague you then with hotter sharper points
I'll wrench your sinews; and T'll rack your joints.
I'm now commission'd by vindictive laws,
I'll sting you deeper in your country's cause.
Your gout shall now a vizor wear no more
With patriot flannels on St. Stephen's floor,
But make the proud imposser loudly roar:

Statesf. Ay there, my haughty soul must soon submit,
One deadly thought is worse than all the fit;
One self-accusing thought, afflicts me more,
Than all the arrows in your mortal store;
In vain your quiver with such shafts is cram'd,
For conscience is the scourge of all the damn'd.

Gout.

Gout. With new invented tortures I'll attack;
 I'll put your mind and body on the rack,
 I'll help your conscience ev'ry crime to try,
 Your guilt's inquisitor untill you die, }
 And to a worse extreme of pain shall fly. }

Statef. All pains of sense my mental throbs despise:

I feel the worm within that never dies;
 Veteran as I am I still must feel:
 My brazen buckler, and my coat of steel
 Lost in the mortal shafts of black despair,
 For vengeance makes a thrust, and breaches there:
 Tho' hackney'd to a proverb be my name;
 I still have left some little sense of shame,
 Oh! close companion, I am lost and won,
 That crafty Scot hath 'all my hopes undone!
 His low laid schemes have stopp'd my soaring piles;
 On my indignant plan he scornful smiles,
 He proudly tramples on my patriot claim,
 And builds his glory on my branded name:
 Perdition on the thought; Oh stab severe!
 For baubles, titles, toys, for empty air,
 To purchase scorn, contempt, and black despair. }

Gout. I'll listen now to your enraged stile,
 And listen to yourself, the desperate while;
 When disappointed pride from hope must fly,
 Pursued and hunted by the public cry.
 The retrospect your shrinking soul annoys,
 The Gout could pity what your guilt destroys.

Statef. Can I look back?--beat down that scorpion rod! }
 The people and the prince obey'd my nod, }
 And I was worship'd like an earthly god. }
 What incense did the bigot nations bring;
 How much in favour with my gracious king,
 How cheated millions did my voice invoke,
 How conscious senates shudder'd when I spoke,
 How foul corruption, when I rais'd my hand,
 Quick sunk her bloated crest o'er all the land,
 And in her gall her poison ceas'd to blend,
 And dreaded as a foe her greatest friend;
 How did I act my more than acted part,
 With mimic virtue prompted in my heart;
 How private honour, and how public good,
 Seem'd seated in my soul, and blended in my blood;
 How ev'ry muse did ev'ry trophy give,
 How statues to my name began to live?
 Can I look back? now, now perform your part,
 Now wrench my nerves, now wring my wretched heart;
 Thou friendly gout, thy kind assistance bring,
 Let every neighb'ring anguish lend a sting;
 The cool confederates shall my madness calm,
 And cure my conscience with their kindly balm.

Gout. I will administer my sharpest woes,
 I'll give the last addition to your toes;
 I'll bring your wish'd for exit soon about,
 Nay give your double-meaning tongue the gout;

I'll now inflame each hot morbid part,
 Your guilty head, your hands, your feet, your heart.
State's. My vanquish'd pride can now no more dispute,
 What to be made a stalking horse to B--e?
 A buckler base, a prostituted screen,
 To stand between him and the public spleen,
 I feel I feel the cure of all my pain,
 I feel a frenzy forging in my brain;
 Distraction now shall snatch me from my woe,
 And guilty conscience give the final blow!
 I see the gulph wide yawn before my eyes,
 There headlong let me plunge no more to rise.

THE POLITICAL BAROMETER.

The following sensible Letters contain too true a Description of our Misfortunes, to be omitted in this Register.

LETTER I. August 10. 1768.

THE greatest part of my property having been invested in the funds, I could not help paying some attention to rumours or events, by which my fortune might be affected: yet I never lay in wait to take advantage of a sudden fluctuation, much less would I make myself a bubble to bulls and bears, or a dupe to the pernicious arts practised in the alley. I thought a prudent man, who had any thing to lose, and really meant to do the best for himself and his family, ought to consider of the state of things at large, of the prospect before him, and the probability of particular events. A letter which appeared some days ago in the public Papers, revived many serious reflections of this sort in my mind, because it seemed to be written with candour and judgment. The effect of those reflections was, that I did not hesitate to alter the situation of my property. I owe my thanks to that writer, that I am safely landed from a troubled ocean of fear and anxiety, on which I think I never will venture my fortune and my happiness again. Perhaps it may not be useless to individuals to see the motives on which I have acted.

In the first place, I consider this country as in a situation, the like of which it never experienced before, but which the greatest empires have experienced in their turn. The successes of the late war had placed us at the highest pinnacle of military glory. Every external circumstance seemed to con-

tribute to our prosperity; the most formidable of our enemies were reduced, and commerce had promised to increase with the extent of our dominion. But at this point I fear we met with our *ne plus ultra*. The greatness of a kingdom cannot long be stationary. That of Great Britain carried in itself an interior principle of weakness and decay. While the war continued, our superiority at sea gave us an exclusive commerce with the richest quarters of the world, and supplied us with wealth to support such efforts as no nation ever made before. But when the conclusion of peace had restored our rivals to the enjoyment of their former trade, the very efforts which had maintained the war, rendered it impossible for us to meet those rivals upon equal terms in foreign markets. The national debt had risen to a point so far beyond the reach of oeconomical speculations, that the diminution of the principal almost ceased to be a question, and the ministry found difficulty enough in providing funds for payment of the interest. Here then we find an interior principle of decay, the operation of which is not less certain than fatal. The increase of your debt requires a proportionate increase of trade, at the same time that it not only prevents that increase, but operates in the contrary direction. A newspaper will not admit of such a deduction, or I would undertake to demonstrate, that all the profitable part of our foreign trade is lost, and that, in what remains, the balance is considerably against us. But the fact is notorious. The situation of our East-India Trade is so far altered for the better, that we do not send such quantities of bullion as heretofore to China, and indeed we have it not to send. Yet the resources of this trade are, at the best but precarious: nor is the balance of it even now clearly in our favour. A single defeat in India (an event not quite out of the limits of possibility) would go near to annihilate the company. But it was in the colonies that our best and surest hopes were founded. Their extensive commerce would have supported our home manufactures, when other markets failed, and rewarded us in some measure for that security and extent of dominion, which the blood and treasure of this country had purchased for them. Here too our most reasonable expectations are disappointed. Not only the merchant who gives credit on the security of personal good faith, is ruined by it, but, in a public view, the sum of the debts of individuals is held out *in terrorem* to awe us into a compliance with pretensions, which shake the foundation of our political existence. We shall be woefully deceived if we form our calculations of the real state of trade, on the large commissions, long credit, or extensive enter-
prizes

prizes of particular merchants: The commercial prosperity of a nation depends upon the certainty of the return, not on the magnitude of the venture. As things are now managed in the city the greatest house falls first, and draws with it the ruin of a multitude of little ones. Next to the parties immediately concerned, the public creditors will be the first to feel the consequences of this ruinous system. The funds allotted for their security depend chiefly upon the produce of the customs; these depend upon your trade, and it requires no prophet to foretell that a false and ruinous system of trade cannot long be maintained. It begins with private beggary, and ends in public ruin. I do not pretend to say that the land-holder will be quite at his ease, when public credit is shaken. But his at least is a solid security; the other a meer bubble, which the first rude breath of ill-fortune or of danger may reduce to nothing.

I wish it could be proved that any one circumstance in this representation is false or exaggerated. On the other hand, if it be true, the concealment, of a moment more or less, signifies nothing. It is agreed on all hands, that we are in no condition to meet a war. Our enemies know and presume upon it. The experience of many centuries sufficiently proves that their natural restlessness will not long permit them to observe the conditions of any peace. At present they have other additional motives to draw them into action. The articles of the last peace dishonoured them in the eyes of Europe. Necessity alone compelled them to submit to it. As long as the necessity subsists, the peace will be maintained. In the mean time, they hazard such strokes as would be a just foundation of a war, if we had strength or spirit to renew it. Dunkirk remains undemolished, and Corsica is added to the dominion of France. They know the miserable state of our finances, the distraction and weakness of our government, and above all the alarming differences which threaten a rupture with our colonies. To suppose that they will not take advantage of these circumstances, is supposing that a few years have changed the stamina of a French constitution. On the other hand, to say that they are as little in a condition to make war as ourselves is meer trifling. Their enterprizes prove the contrary. Their finances are upon a much better footing than ours, and at the worst, they have a remedy, which a British parliament will never make use of, but in the last extremity. The French apply it without scruple, and, as far as I can observe without any bad effect to themselves. In short, they consider our weakness more than their own strength, in adherence to their old policy, *que la faiblesse de l'ennemi fait notre propre force.*

A prudent man, whose property is in the funds, would do well to consider the truth of this representation. What security has he, when the slightest rumour of bad news from America robs him of four or five per cent. upon his capital, when worse news from that quarter is expected every hour, and when the expectation of a foreign war is founded on facts and reasoning, strong enough to constitute the clearest moral certainty? To say that public credit has hitherto passed safely through the fiery trial of war and rebellion, proves nothing. No conclusion can be drawn from a debt of forty-six millions, at which it stood in 1740, to the present debt of one hundred and forty millions. At that time our resources were hardly known, now they are known and exhausted. We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat the old ones, and when new duties only operate as a prohibition: yet these are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the persecution of a prisoner in the king's-bench, and to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependants. If there be a good man in the king's service they dismiss him of course; and when bad news arrives instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in some half misbegotten measure, which is left to execute itself. Away they go:—one retires to his country-house; another is engaged at a horse-race; a third has an appointment with a prostitute;—and as to their country, they leave her, like a cast off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her.

ATTICUS.

LETTER II. October 6, 1768.

SINCE my last was printed, a question has been stated in the news-papers, which I think is incumbent upon me, as an honest man, to answer. Admitting my representation of the melancholy state of this country, and of public credit to be strictly true, "what good purpose can it answer to discover such truths, and to lay our weakness open to the world?" One would think such a question hardly wanted a reply. If a real misfortune were lessened by concealment;—if, by shutting our eyes to our weakness, we could give our enemies an opinion of our strength, none but a traitor would withdraw the veil, which covered the nakedness of his

country. But if the contrary be true; if concealment serves only to nourish and increase the mischief, its conclusion is direct. A good subject will endeavour to rouse the attention of his country;—he will give the alarm, and point out the danger, against which she ought to provide. The policy of concealment is no better than the wisdom of a prodigal, who wastes his estate without reflection, and has not courage enough to examine his accounts.

In my last letter, I foretold the great fall of the stocks, which has since happened, and I now do not scruple to foretell that they must and will fall much lower. Yet I am not moved by the arts of stock-jobbers, or by temporary rumours, magnified, if not created, for particular purposes in the alley. These artifices are directed to maintain a fluctuation not a continued fall. The principles, on which *my* reasoning is founded are taken generally from the state of France and this country. When I see our natural enemies strong enough not only to elude a material article of treaty, but to set us at defiance while they conquer a kingdom; and when I combine this appearance of strength with their natural restlessness, I cannot but doubt of their taking the first opportunity to recover their lost honour, by a fresh declaration of war. On the other hand, considering the hostile temper of the colonies towards us, the oppressive weight of a monstrous debt (to which a peace of six years has scarce given a sensible relief) and, above all, the misery, weakness, and distraction of our interior government, I cannot have a doubt that our enemies now have, or in a very little time will have the fairest opportunity they can wish for to force us into a war. The conclusion, to be drawn from these premises, is obvious. It amounts to a moral certainty, and leaves no room for hope or apprehension.

To these, which are the most important circumstances of our situation, may well be added the high price of labour, the decay of trade, and the ruinous system on which it is conducted. Every minuter article conspires against us. The deficiency of the civil list must be paid, and cannot be paid with less than seven hundred thousand pounds. The India company will yield to no terms, which are not founded on an express acknowledgement of their exclusive property in their conquests in Asia. How far their pretensions are just is at least a doubtful question. Whether parliament will divest them of this property, by a mere declaratory law, is a matter of the most important consideration. It would be a dreadful precedent, because it would shake every security of private property. Yet, even if that were determined, another question remains full of difficulty and danger;—that

is, in what manner the public will avail themselves of this great right, decided by nothing but a vote of parliament?

I am not affected by the rumours of the day. If the stocks rise or fall upon a report of tranquility or tumult in Boston, I am satisfied that it is owing to the arts and management of stock jobbers. But I see the spirit which is gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit *must and will* produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the legislature, the event will be uncertain: But if we yield to the pretensions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment the become an independent people, they open their trade with the rest of the world, and England is undone.

In these circumstances, calamitous as they are, I yet think the uniform direction of a great and able minister might do much. His earliest care, I am persuaded, would be to provide a fund to support the first alarm and expence of a rupture with France. If prepared to meet a war, he might perhaps avoid it. His next object would be to form a plan of agreement with the colonies. He would consent to yield some ground to the Americans, if it were possible to receive a security from them, that they never would advance beyond the line then drawn upon conditions, mutually agreed on. By an equitable offer of this kind, he would certainly unite this country in the support of his measures, and I am persuaded he would have the reasonable part of the Americans of his side.

These, Sir, unfortunately for us, are views too high and important even to be thought of, while we are governed as we are. I would not descend to a reproachful word against men, whose persons I hardly know: but it is impossible for an honest man to behold the circumstances, to which a weak distracted nation has reduced us, without feeling one pang at least for the approaching ruin of Great Britain.

ATTICUS.

LETTER III.

October 19. 1768.

WE are assured by the advocates of the ministry, that while Lord Shelburne is secretary of state, we can have no reason to apprehend a rupture with France or Spain. This proposition is singular enough, and I believe turns upon a refinement very distant from the simplicity of common sense. But, admitting it to be self-evident, the conclusion is such as I apprehend your correspondent, who signs himself *A friend to public credit*, did not clearly foresee. If Lord Shelburne's
remaining

remaining in office constitutes a security of peace, his being suddenly removed, must amount to a declaration of war. Now, the fact is, that his lordship's removal, has been for some time in agitation, and is within these few days absolutely determined. If I were a party-writer, the indiscretion of the ministerial advocates would give me as many advantages as even the wretched conduct of the ministry themselves. But I write for the public, and in that view hold myself far above a little triumph over men, whose compositions are as weak as the cause they defend.

In my former letters I have given you a melancholy but a true representation of the state of this country. Every packet from America and the continent confirms it. The demonstration of facts follows the probability of argument, and the prediction of the present hour is the experience of the next. If you will now permit me to offer my opinion of the great persons, under whose administration we are reduced to this deplorable state, the public will be enabled to judge whether these are the men most likely to relieve us from it. The curiosity of personal malice shall make no part of this enquiry. As public men we have a right to be acquainted with their real characters, because we are interested in their public conduct.

When the Duke of G——n first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His grace had honourably slesht his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favourites, looked up to lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his grace to enter into administration with his friend lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury upon terms which lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity or judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign. The next, he finds his blood heated, and swears to

to his friend he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistence. The Stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwisely) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it. Without either plan or necessity, he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law, which had been repealed.

With respect to the invasion of Corsica, it will be matter of parliamentary enquiry, whether he has carried on a secret negociation with the French court, in terms contradictory to the resolution of council, and to the instructions drawn up thereupon by his Majesty's secretary of state. If it shall appear that he has quitted the line of his department to betray the honour and security of his country, and if there be a power sufficient to protect him, in such a case, against public justice, the constitution of Great Britain is at an end.

His standing foremost in the persecution of Mr. Wilkes, if former declarations and connections be considered, is base and contemptible. The man, whom he now brands with treason and blasphemy, but a very few years ago was the Duke of G——n's friend, nor is his identity altered, except by his misfortunes.—In the last instance of his grace's judgment and inconsistency, we see him, after trying and deserting every party, throw himself into the arms of a set of men, whose political principles he had always pretended to abhor. These men I doubt not will teach him the folly of his conduct better than I can. They grasp at every thing, and will soon push him from his seat. His private history would but little deserve our attention, if he had not voluntarily brought it into public notice. I will not call the amusements of a young man criminal, though I think they become his age better than his station. There is a period, at which the most unruly passions are gratified or exhausted, and which leaves the mind clear and undisturbed in its attention to business. His grace's gallantry would be offended, if we were to suppose him within many years of being thus qualified for public affairs. As for the rest, making every allowance for the frailty of human nature, I can make none for a continued breach of public decorum; nor can I believe that man very zealous for the interest of his country, who sets her opinion at defiance. This nobleman however, has one claim to respect, since it has pleased our gracious f——n to make him prime minister of Great-Britain,

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The Ch— of the Ex— is a moderate man, and pretends to no higher merit than that of an humble assistant in office. If he escapes censure, he is too prudent to aim at applause. The necessity of his affairs had separated him from earlier friendships and connections, and if he were of any consequence, we might lament that an honest man should find it necessary to disgrace himself in a post he is utterly unfit for. But we have other objects to attend to. It depends greatly upon the present management of the finances, whether this country shall stand or fall. A common clerk in office may conduct the ordinary supplies of the year, but to give a sensible relief to public credit, or to provide funds against a rupture abroad, are objects above him. To remove those oppressions, which lie heaviest upon trade, and, by the same operation, to improve the revenue, demands a superior capacity, supported by the most extensive knowledge. To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable; because vulgar minds make no distinction between the highly difficult and the impossible.

The Earl of H— set out with a determined attachment to the court party, let who would be minister. He had one vice less than other courtiers, for he never even pretended to be a patriot. The Oxford election gave him an opportunity of shewing some skill in parliamentary management, while an uniform obsequious submission to his superiors introduced him into lucrative places, and crowned his ambition with a peerage. He is now what they call a K—'s man; ready, as the closet directs, to be any or nothing, but always glad to be employed. A new department, created on purpose for him, attracted a greater expectation than he has yet been able to support. In his first act of power he has betrayed a most miserable want of judgment. A provision for Lord B— was not an object of importance sufficient to justify a risque of the first impression, which a new minister must give of himself to the public. For my own part, I hold him in some measure excused; because I am persuaded the defence he has delivered privately to his friends is true. "That the measure came from another and higher quarter." But still he is the tool, and ceasing to be criminal sinks into contempt. In his new department I am sorry to say he has shewn neither abilities nor good sense. His letters to the colonies, contain nothing but expressions equally loose and violent. The minds of the Americans are not to be conciliated by a language which only contradicts without attempting to persuade. His correspondence, upon the whole, is so defective both in design and composition, that he would de-

serve our pity, if the consequences to be dreaded from it did not excite our indignation. This treatment of the colonies, added to his refusal to present a petition from one of them to the K—, (a direct breach of the declaration of rights) will naturally throw them all into a flame. I protest, Sir, I am astonished at the infatuation which seems to have directed his whole conduct. The other ministers were foreseeing in their usual course, without proceeding or regarding consequences; but this nobleman seems to have marked out, by a determined choice, the means to precipitate our destruction.

The Earl of Sh—e had initiated himself in business, by carrying messages between the Earl of Bute and Mr. Fox, and was for some time a favourite with both. Before he was an ensign he thought himself fit to be a general, and to be a leading minister before he ever saw a public office. The life of this young man is a satire on mankind. The treachery, which deserts a friend, might be a virtue, compared to the fawning baseness which attached itself to a declared enemy. Lord Chatham became his idol, introduced him into the most difficult department of the state, and left him there to shift for himself. It was a master-piece of revenge. Unconnected, unsupported, he remains in office without interest or dignity, as if the income were an equivalent for all loss of reputation. Without spirit or judgment to take an advantageous moment of retiring, he submits to be insulted, as long as he is paid for it. But even this abject conduct will avail him nothing. Like his great archetype, the vapour on which he rose deserts him, and now,

“Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops.”

I cannot observe without reluctance, that the only man of real abilities in the present administration is not an object either of respect or esteem. The character of the Lord Ch—r is a strong proof that an able, consistent, judicious conduct, depends upon other qualities than those of the head. Passions and party, in his lordship's understanding, had united all the extremes. They gave him to the world in one moment the patron of natural liberty, independent of civil constitutions; in the next the assertor of prerogative independent of law. How he will advise the Cr—n in the present crisis, is of more importance to the public than to himself. His patronage of Mr. Wilkes and of America have succeeded to his wish. They have given him a peerage, a pension, and the seals, and as for his future opinions, he can adopt none for which he may not find a precedent and justification in his former conduct.

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The earl of C—m—— I had much to say, but it were inhuman to persecute, when providence has marked out the example to mankind !

My lord Gr——y is certainly a brave man and a generous man, and both without design or reflection. How far the army is improved under his direction, is another question. His German friends will all have regiments ; and it is enough to say of his lordship, that he has too much good humour to contradict the reigning minister.

The length of this letter will not permit me to do particular justice to the duke of B——d's friends ; neither is it necessary. With one united view they have but one character. My lord G——r and lord W——h were distressed, and R——y was insatiable. The school they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends without deserting their principles. There is a littleness even in their ambition ; for money is their first object. Their professed opinions upon some great points are so different from those of the party with which they are now united, that the council chamber is become a scene of open hostilities. While the fate of Great-Britain is at stake, these worthy counsellors dispute without decency, advise without sincerity, resolve without decision, and leave the measure to be executed by the man who voted against it. This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the state. The consultation meets but to disagree. Opposite medicines are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it.

Such is the council, by which the best of f——ns is advised, and the greatest nation upon earth governed. Separately the figures are only offensive ; in a group they are formidable. Commerce languishes, manufactures are oppressed, and public credit already feels her approaching dissolution : yet, under the direction of this council, we are to prepare for a dreadful contest with the colonies, and a war with the whole house of Bourbon. I am not surprised that the generality of men should endeavour to shut their eyes to this melancholy prospect. Yet I am filled with grief and indignation, when I behold a wise and gallant people lost in a stupidity, which does not feel, because it will not look forward. The voice of one man will hardly be heard when the voice of truth and reason are neglected ; but as far as mine extends, the authors of our ruin shall be marked out to the public. I will not tamely submit to sacrifice, nor shall this country perish without warning.

ATTICUS.

To Sir W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR, Bart. and
Knight of the Bath.

LETTER I.

SIR,

YOUR public solicitation of my vote demands and justifies a public answer. And as your advertisement exposes your reasons for expecting, it seems but fair that I should give you my reasons for refusing it.

My objections to you are those of a plain honest freeholder, neither influencing others, nor influenced by them.

I object to the interest that supports you--to your abilities--and to your public conduct.

I could have wished indeed that some more able pen had treated this matter; however I shall undertake it cheerfully, because I am persuaded that he requires no art, and finds no difficulty, who writes the truth and acts on principle.

It is notorious, and you will not deny it, that you are supported by the court, by the ministry, and by the violent and inhuman Bloomsbury gang, that infernal gang that patched up the late infamous peace; that endeavoured to extend the oppressive and unconstitutional excise; that issued and supported General Warrants; that endeavoured, and are still endeavouring, to enslave the Americans; that were guilty of the late massacre in St. Georges fields; that cared and admired a man for many years, whilst he was only loose, licentious, and immoral; but persecuted him with unrelenting malice, by every illegal and cruel measure, as soon as they perceived he had the virtue of public Spirit.

Sir William, declare upon your honour, as a gentleman, do you think that Mr. Glynn could possibly oppose your election if the freeholders of Middlesex consisted entirely of the creatures of lord Bute, lord Mansfield, and the Duke of Bedford? if they were all placemen and pensioners? or if they were all tradesmen to the court?

Is there one of the justices of the peace that were present at the massacre in St. George's fields, who does not make interest for you warmly?

Is there a Jacobite, or a Scotchman, who does not wish you success?

Do you believe that the third regiment of guards would not chuse you for their representative rather than Mr. serjeant Glynn?

Are you not well persuaded that two-thirds of the freehold-

ers who shall vote for you, will do so against their inclinations, influenced thereto by motives of fear or interest?

Do you think you have the hearts of the freeholders?

Have you not over and over again declared to numbers of your friends, that you would not spend money for the county? Is not money now spending every where profusely, in flat contradiction to your repeated declarations? Who furnishes that money?

Is it agreeable to our laws and constitution that the court and the ministry should interfere in the election of a representative of the people? Would they interfere in this manner if they had not a purpose to serve by it? And can that purpose be favourable to the people?

Suppose an island was to be equally divided between three different nations, and that commissioners were to be appointed by each to settle the boundaries, would it not be suspicious and alarming to the third, if the other two should interfere in the choice of their commissioner, and endeavour by bribes and force and power to get some particular persons appointed? Could such a one be expected to serve his constituents faithfully? Is not such the nature of our constitution? Are not the three estates of the kingdom intended to be checks and counterpoises to each other? Is it not their chief business to settle and maintain the boundaries of prerogative, of privilege, and of the rights of the people? Are not you supported by the servants of the crown, and the nobility? Is there not a noble duke, connected with lord Bute, who has written many letters in your favour? Has he not opened his house for you? Has he not canvassed for you in person? I will be bold enough to say that I have seen his letters; that I know those whom he hath canvassed; that I can name the time, and prove the motive, of that general entertainment, at which lord Bute's son in law, yourself, and lord Barrington the *Letter writer* attended. Has not the steward of the same duke (that steward who was examined as a witness for Sir John Gibbons in the Stanwell business) attended you in your canvass? Has he not used every threat, and every promise, to induce the Freeholders to vote for you? I will be bold to say he has; nay, more, I will say, that though perhaps the fulfilling of his promises may admit of some delay, his threats have already been put in execution.

Is this the honour, Sir William, you so much covet? Can you, will any one else reckon it an *honour* to you to carry an election by perjury? And will it not be perjury in every freeholder who gives you his vote against his inclination, for advantage

vantage and interest? It certainly will. But what will be particularly unfortunate for you is, that they will for your sake commit the crime, and have the disgrace of baseness and perjury, without your being profited by it. For you have already sufficient reason to be assured, that the number of independent freeholders in the county of Middlesex is greatly superior to those who are swayed by such unworthy motives.

Our glorious Milton, whose smallest merit was to be the most sublime poet in the world, has remarked, that "it goes not ill with that nation, where there is public virtue enough still left to form even a party." How happy then, and honourable is it for the county of Middlesex to find that party the majority.

In most other contested election the struggle has generally been whether this or that noble family should carry a county; it is left for our days, and for our county, to gain a victory, when the contest is carried on by the independent and unconnected freeholders against the interest of the court, the ministry, and the nobility united.

What your friends reproach us with, Sir William, and on which they ground their hopes, is the chief theme of our glory and our confidence—that though there are many honest and noble souls, there is not one great or over-grown rich man amongst us, each of us acts on his own principle, and like the Romans of old, as if the victory depended on each single arm. So far are we from being bought, that we spend our money, and neglect our interest, to support our candidate. And there is not one of us but is proud of that title which is given him with contempt, the title of

A plain common Freeholder.

P. S. In my next I shall consider your abilities, and after that your public conduct. I shall examine them freely, but without ill-nature. I am as far as any one of your friends from entertaining the least ill-will to you as a private man, but have very great public objections to your being the representative of the county. Conscious of my own honest motives, I do not wish to be concealed from you, but will tell you a story by which you alone may discover your anonymous correspondent. On the day that the writ for Newcastle-underline was moved for in the house of commons, and when the writ for Middlesex was talked of, but not issued, I went towards your house with another freeholder, intending to request your explicit answer whether you would petition against the last election or not; because your different declarations, at
differ-

different times, might have been made a ground for refusing the writ.

I met you going into the duke of Grafton's, the first lord of the treasury. I waited two hours expecting your coming out, and then not finding an opportunity to speak to you, I returned to the house of commons, where I was informed that the writ for Middlesex would not be issued—for reasons which my safety will not permit me to mention: you saw me at the door of the duke of Grafton, and therefore will know who I am.

I mention this circumstance to avoid the imputation of attacking you in the dark; for of what should I need to be ashamed, tho' my name were, as my motives, *public*?

To Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Baronet, and Knight of the Bath.

L E T T E R II.

S I R.

IN my last I considered the interest that supports you, I come now to your abilities. I would have it understood that I mean only your abilities as a senator.

As the subject is extremely confined, so shall be my animadversions. If I chose to deal in ill-natured ridicule, it might, perhaps afford an ample field for diversion to the public, and pain to you; but I entirely disclaim either of those intentions. The times we live in are serious, and the subject I write upon important. The personal enquiry is by no means pleasing to me: For however tenderly I may enter into it, I shall not escape your displeasure nor the abuse of your party.

When a servant offers himself to any one, it is usual and proper to enquire into his qualifications; and if he is found deficient, a good-natured man contents himself with saying that the person so applying will not do for him, without mortifying the poor fellow by an enumeration of his defects and faults—especially if they are natural defects for which there is no remedy. But if a company of men are to appoint a servant, or a superintendant, or a steward to manage their common business, and to whom they are to entrust their most important concerns, it becomes the duty of every one of them to inform his patrons why he rejects this man, and why he prefers another. He may shew them that the one is the creature of some of their rivals, whose interest is directly contrary to theirs: He may demonstrate to them that he has neither abilities nor inclination to do their business; and

and if he has been in their service before, he may fairly point out to them his miscarriage and misconduct, and make them perceive where he has failed through weakness and incapacity ; and where he has been guided by interest, bad connections, or other blameable motives.

Such is the situation of a county in the choice of their representatives. And such is my apology.

To promote good and to oppose bad measures is the sole purpose for which members of parliament are appointed. This purpose they cannot answer unless they have a head to plan and project, a tongue to enforce and to persuade, or at least a pen to explain. Now in all these particulars you are so notoriously deficient, that you will not be able even among the best of your friends to find one so little jealous of his own understanding as to compliment yours. Those who have seen you chairman some unimportant committee of (for of no [other was you chairman) must have been disgusted, as I have been, to find you after twenty years practice so totally unacquainted even with the common forms of the house.

“ Sir William, you must do this.”

“ No, Sir William you must do that.”

Whilst each direction has been implicitly followed—unless contradicted by a second ; and the second—till over-ruled by a third. The projecting head therefore I believe is entirely out of the question ; and I may safely spare myself that disagreeable enquiry, because none of your advocates will be indiscreet enough to call upon me for it.

Utterly incapable of projecting, let us see how far you are enabled by your elocution to assist in carrying into execution the plans that may be formed by others. It has been hinted in the papers, that in the course of twenty years you have never once opened your mouth. Now this is not absolutely and literally true ; for you did once utter some words in the house ; but as I have disclaimed all ridicule, I will not, unless called upon to do it, repeat the words, and their trifling occasion.

Your eloquence out of the house has been equally unfortunate ; for we cannot but remember the distress and confusion you were in at the last nomination ; when after you had been proposed by *lord Bute's son in law*, for our member, and recommended by Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir George Colebrooke, the *Paymaster*, &c. and it was your turn to speak, though surrounded by your friends, and prepared for the occasion, you could only get out,—“Gentlemen——a——I thank you——a——gentlemen”——and then loud enough to be heard by many near you, you beat your hands on the
the

the partition before you, crying—"What must I say next?—what must I say next?"—Some other inarticulate and unconnected words did follow; but your friends, to cover your insufficiency and relieve your distress, set up a loud huzza, and so concluded your address—Now, Sir, let me ask you, would any man that is really your friend, and saw then what you suffered, wish to put you to the same, or a more painful situation? for if it is so difficult for you, even when prepared to say to some few of your friends—"Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me, and hope for the continuance of your favour and support"—what must it be to harangue and argue in the house of commons *unprepared*, and perhaps *unsupported*, against the learned and artful dependants of a court or ministry? If indeed any such persons could ever by bribery and corruption find their way into a British house of commons; and yet that such a thing may possibly happen, the laws against bribery and corruption sufficiently prove; for laws are never made against impossibilities, but are generally intended as remedies for what has already happened, and to prevent such practices for the future. However, I must acquit your friends of any unkind intentions of distressing you by getting you into the house of commons. They know very well, by an experience of twenty years, that you can sit by very calmly and contentedly, and hear questions of the utmost importance to this kingdom discussed and decided, without once being put to the necessity of explaining—"What must I say next?—What must I say next?"

But neither need I dwell long on this topic. The talent of speaking is given up both by yourself and friends.

But what, say they, is speaking then the only qualification to be required in a member of parliament?

No, we do not pretend that it is. And yet if we pay any regard to the business of the place, and the meaning of the word, we shall not think it altogether so insignificant.

The word *parliament*, in its original signification, means no more than what the Indians call—A TALK. Now it should seem very extraordinary that a man should be one of the members of a TALK, who cannot speak a word.

However, we will give up to you this qualification, and suppose, if you please (what yet it will be very difficult to prove), that even a dumb man may be an useful member of the house of commons. But pray what will you give us in lieu of it? Will your friends please to inform us of any one talent that you *have*, to make amends for all those talents which you confessedly *have not*?

Is the power of the PEN to supply the place of the power of speech? From which of your productions, then, are we to discover your LITERARY ABILITIES? Are your advertisement and your circular letter given as specimens? He must be a hardy and adventurous 'squire, indeed, who will undertake to defend the purity of his knight's English, when two such performances stare him in the face. In which, though you have CHOSE to be very *assiduous* of *shewing your duty*, and *of preserving liberties*, you have taken no care at all to preserve the rules of grammar. But it is not my intention to turn word-catcher, and to go a hunting after your concords. Your advertisement may be seen in all the papers, and I here subjoin a copy of your circular letter. He that wants a criticism on either of them, will do well to go to school again with their composer.

'SIR,

Bruton-Street.

'HAVING met with great encouragement from numbers of freeholders of the county of Middlesex, to offer myself a candidate at the next election, in the room of George Cooke, Esq; lately deceased; and having had the honour to represent you in parliament for these twenty years past free and independently, imboldens me again to solicit the favour of your vote and interest, which, if I am so happy to obtain, will lay a lasting obligation on, Sir,

'Your most faithful and obedient servant,

'W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.'

But enough has been said on the score of your ABILITIES. I shall conclude my present letter with a dialogue that passed between you and a worthy old freeholder in my neighbourhood, on your application to him for his vote; because it is the sharpest rebuke for your long inattention to the freeholders, and the slight you have put upon them for twenty years; as well as the strongest declaration of the no-business for which you have been famous.

Sir W. Ha! my old friend, how do you do? I am very glad to see you look so well.

Free. Sir, I am much obliged to you; but really you have the advantage of me: I cannot say I have the honour to know you.

Sir W. Not know me! Why you voted for me twenty years ago.

Free. That may be; but indeed I do not remember you.

Sir W. That's strange! My name is Sir William Beauchamp Proctor.

Free,

Free. God bless me! Sir William Beauchamp Proctor! Well, I am sure I am very glad to see you. Why you look extremely well. Upon my word I thought you had been dead. Yes, Sir, I remember very well voting for you twenty years ago; but as I had never *seen* you, nor *heard* of you since, I really thought you had been dead.

Sir W. Well, I hope you will now give me your vote again.

Free. No, Sir William, that I cannot do; for I am already engaged to vote for a gentleman whom I hope I shall both *see* and *hear* of too.

A PLAIN, COMMON FREEHOLDER.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A concise journal of the king of Denmark's visit.

ON Thursday, the 11th of August, 1768, he arrived at St. James's from Dover. The apartments in St. James's palace, formerly belonging to the late duke of Cumberland, were prepared for his reception. For altho' it is certain to have been his majesty's wish to have resided in a house hired by himself, yet this compliment was pressed upon him. When he arrived, tho' his coming was universally known, and had been expected during the greatest part of the day, yet there was not so much as a page in waiting to receive him. Lord Hertford, soon after, complimented him on his arrival. Not any notice was taken of him for a considerable time; and it was generally believed, that certain persons regarded his visit in a very ungracious manner. At length, the gloom of this scandalous sordidness was dispelled by her royal highness the princess Amelia. On the 19th of August, that princess gave a very grand entertainment to his Danish majesty, and above 300 of the English nobility, foreign ministers, &c. at Gunnersbury-House. The supper consisted of 120 dishes. A grand firework was played; and there was a splendid ball, which lasted during the night.

The king of Denmark having visited their majesties, and the princess dowager of Wales, determined to attend York races; but being indisposed by a cold the day before, that journey was postponed. In the mean time, he was occasionally entertained in town by the several foreign ministers, &c. And two princes of the house of Saxe-Gotha happening to be in England at this time, they paid a visit to Portsmouth, attended by her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales. When his Danish majesty was recovered, he resumed his intention of visiting York; and on the 30th he set out, but without any other attendants than those he brought with him. On this occasion, it was thus remarked in several of the public papers: "You will be surprized that a great monarch, who has honoured this country with his royal presence, and distinguished it by thinking it worth his observation and inspection, has only just been offered a late commissioner of the pavement to attend his Danish majesty through this kingdom, but he was not accepted of. Was it forgot, that his late royal highness the duke of York, when he travelled abroad, though as a private person, had always four, five, or six of the principal nobility of the country he

"went to, deputed to attend him wherever he went, and do him Honour? Shame! shame on such commissions and omissions."

When his Danish majesty arrived at Cambridge, he was waited on by the vice-chancellor of the university, heads of colleges, and doctors in their scarlet robes, who attended his majesty to the Senate-house, where the whole university, and a brilliant company of ladies in the galleries, were assembled, who, upon the entrance of his majesty, testified their joy by every possible mark of respect. He was conducted to a chair of state, where he received the compliments of the heads of the respective colleges; and after a short stay, was conducted in procession to the library, and to all the principal buildings in the university, where, having seen every thing that was rare and curious, his majesty was graciously pleased to express the highest satisfaction, and to invite the vice-chancellor to supper. Early next morning he proceeded on his journey to York; and on the 31st of August he arrived at that city, having visited in his journey thither, the earl of Exeter at Burleigh, the duke of Ancaster at Grimsthorpe, and the marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth. On the 1st of September he left York, having viewed all that was material there, and returned thro' Leeds, Halifax, and Manchester. In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned place, he viewed the stupendous works of the duke of Bridgewater, at which he expressed both astonishment and pleasure. He proceeded to Chatsworth, where he dined with the lords George Frederick and John Cavendish, and slept at Derby that night: early next morning he set off for London; but near Harborough his carriage broke down; and a servant, with one of the postillions, upon horses unlooked from the carriage, set out with all possible expedition for Harborough, to procure a chaise, whilst his majesty continued his journey on foot. As soon as the messengers arrived, it gave a general alarm, the Dane riding with great fury down the street, his sword drawn, and lamenting aloud, in an unknown tongue, the distresses of his royal master; the postillion, almost out of breath, serving as an interpreter to the former, and calling aloud, "A chaise! a chaise! a chaise! the king on foot, &c." All Harborough, men, women, and children, are said to have turned out upon the occasion, and instantly began their march to give his majesty the meeting. Several of the foremost on horseback, in their haste, rode past the king, who having on a plain surcoat coat, and not being so tall as their ideas had formed him, nor they having the sagacity of Shakespeare's Falstaff, who knew Hal by instinct; overlooked the king on foot, and galloped on for the broken chaise, but finding nothing in it, they returned greatly disappointed. By this time they had overtaken his majesty, the foot having closed in upon his front, and the horse in his rear, he became greatly accommodated in his situation, till the happy arrival of a chaise. On the 4th of September he arrived in good health at his apartments in St. James's. On the 8th, he went to Drury-lane play-house, and was highly pleased with Mr. Garrick, in the character of Sir John Brute, and with the whole theatre. Next day he visited Chelsea hospital, which he greatly admired. On the 10th (Saturday) he went to the opera, and from thence to Mrs. Cornely's great room in Soho square. Next day (Sunday) he visited the royal palace at Hampton-Court, and dined that day at lord Weymouth's, in Bushy park; he also visited Mr. Garrick's villa near Hampton. On the 9th, he entertained the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Ancaster, &c. &c. at St. James's. On the 12th, he visited Windsor-castle and Eton college, and dined that day at Cranbourne-lodge, with the duke of Gloucester, &c. On the 14th, he arrived at Oxford; and having condescended to accept the honours of the university

city, the vice chancellor, with the heads of houses and doctors, attended by the officers of the university, went in procession to meet his majesty, who received them with the greatest affability and politeness. They then conducted his majesty to Queen's and All Soul's colleges; to the Radcliffe and Bodleian libraries; to the Arundel and Pomfret collection of marbles; the picture gallery, and, in brief, to all the public buildings in that quarter of the university; and returning to the house of convocation, the king and his nobility, in the academical habit of doctors of law, proceeded to the theatre, where his majesty being seated under a canopy on the right hand of the vice chancellor, the cause of the convocation was declared, and the *Regius Professor of Laws*, Dr. Vanittart, presented his majesty, in an elegant speech suitable to the occasion: the several great officers and nobles of his majesty's retinue, were next presented; and lastly, Dr. Kelly, his majesty's household physician. His majesty expressed the highest satisfaction, and the vice chancellor and the professor of law had the honour to dine with his majesty.

On the 15th he visited the duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, and next day the earl of Temple at Stowe, where he was very elegantly entertained; and expressed particular pleasure in viewing the gardens.

Having been treated at all the places he visited with the highest magnificence, fireworks, illuminations, compliments, grand dinners, &c. he was soon after his return to London invited to a ball given by their majesties on the 1st at the queen's palace, the princess Amelia was also there, together with the duke of Gloucester and a select number of the nobility, consisting of such as are agreeable at court. There was an elegant supper, and the dancing lasted till three in the morning.

On the 23d. his Danish majesty was sumptuously entertained by the city of London, a copious account of which is given in our last, p. 203. The lord mayor (it is said) being disgusted, feigned illness, in order to excuse his appearance, on that day.

On the 24th. of September he went to see some fireworks in Richmond gardens, prepared by order of his Britannic majesty; they are said to have been fine, being performed by Mess. Capriani and Richards, but only few were permitted to see them.

On the 24th, his Danish majesty went again into the city, and visited the bank. He had before viewed the tower accompanied by the marquis of Granby, and this day saw the monument, &c. He also visited the British museum; was several times at Ranelagh, and at both play-houses, and at going away he presented Mr. Garrick with a gold snuff-box studded with diamonds.

Next morning (the 27th) he breakfasted with Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart. at Chelsea, and viewed Chelsea gardens, the college, &c. and in the evening went to the opera. On the 28th he went to Woolwich, where he saw a man of war of 74 guns launched, and named in compliment to him the Denmark. He next viewed the warren, &c.

On the 29th. he went to the artist's exhibition of pictures at Spring-gardens. And in the Evening was at a grand supper given by the princess, dowager of Wales at Carlton house, at which were also present their Britannic Majesties, their children, the duke of Gloucester, and several of the nobility, consisting of such as were invited, to the number of about fifty.

Next day his majesty went to Greenwich, and viewed the hospital, park, &c. and was entertained there by admiral Rodney, and came back by water (in the navy and admiralty barges) to Whitehall. Sunday (October 1.) he went to New-market to be present at the races which began there the next day. He viewed the race on that day, and

next

next morning (Tuesday) he accompanied on horseback the fox hunt, and was present at the death. Same day Dr. Marriot vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the revd. Mr. Beadon public orator had an audience of his majesty to confer, in the name of the university, the degree of doctor of civil law upon his majesty and the nobility of his train, and doctor of physic upon his majesty's physician, which were very graciously and politely accepted.

On the 3d of October, his majesty returned to London, and next day went to Drury-lane play-house, to see Mr. Garrick perform *Ranger*. He went another time to Covent-Garden theatre. On Friday the 4th, his majesty was elegantly entertained by the duke of Northumberland at Sion House. The princess Amelia, the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland (just returned from the Mediterranean), with a great number of quality, were there. This entertainment was said to be unequalled for magnificence and splendor. He dined there, staid supper, and attended the ball till near two in the morning.

The next day, Saturday, he was present with his Britannic majesty, at a review of the horse-grenadiers on foot, on Wimbledon common.

On Sunday and Monday he dined in public at St. James's, and invited several of the nobility.

In return for the various elegant entertainments he had met with (of which the above is only a sketch), he resolved, before his departure, to give a grand masquerade at the Opera-house, on Monday, the 8th of October: accordingly, the doors of the Opera-house, pursuant to advertisement, were opened for the admission of spectators in the gallery, at seven, and for the masks at nine; early in the evening, also, a party of the guards was ordered upon duty at the theatre, to prevent disturbances; which very much facilitated the access to the house, and produced a greater degree of order, than could be well expected among the populace.

The number of tickets delivered out for the ball, was so great, that many persons, fearful of finding admittance, thronged to the house the moment of admission; so that before eleven, the concourse was prodigious, and the magnificence of the dresses, with the brilliancy of the illumination, afforded a view inconceivably pleasing. The general satisfaction, however, sustained some diminution from the continual increase of company, and the heat of the room, so that the dancers were very few; and several persons unable to endure the heat, were reduced to the necessity of unmasking before supper, when it became universal to unmask, and consequently put it out of their power to preserve the necessary propriety of their characters.

His Danish majesty came in, masked, between ten and eleven o'clock, dressed in a domino of gold and silver stuff, a black hat and white feather; walked about with great good-nature and pleasantry till twelve, then withdrew, with a select company, to supper, and appeared no more. The princess Amelia sat the whole time in one of the boxes, masked. The king was in a private box, apparently shut, but with peep-holes in the shutters. The duke of Cumberland was in a crimson domino; trimmed with gold, black hat and white feather. Duke of Gloucester in a purple domino, white hat and white feather. Her grace the duchess of Northumberland appeared in the character of Rembrandt's wife, in a close black gown, trimmed with gold, a round-eared coif, short apron tucked up, with a painter's brush in her hand. The character of Mungo, in the *Padlock*, was very excellently assumed by Mr. Mendez, who was very fine in jewels, and exceedingly diverted the company. Dr. Dominetti and his lady, excited much curiosity from the singularity of their dress

dress, which was greatly admired. Lady Bell Stanhope and her sister, represented pilgrims; they wore brown gowns, with blue sashes trimmed with silver, and small hats laced round with diamonds. Among the other characters were,

Diana, Lady Stanhope. Pallas, Miss Elliot. Old Woman, Gen. Conway. Witch, Mr. James. Night, Mrs. Ross. Nabob, Lord Clive. Indian Raggi, Mr. Vanstuart. Ditto, Mr. Scrafton. Chimney Sweeper, Unknown. Sailor, Mr. Thompson. No Sailor, Mr. Broderick. Sir Epic. Mammon, Mr. Kelly. Cleopatra, Mrs. Garnier. *Goddess of Chastity*, Miss Groves. Indian and Family, Mr. Cambridge and Family. Tancred, Mr. Muilman.

The duke of Northumberland appeared in a Persian habit, with a turban richly ornamented with diamonds.

Lord Grosvenor was in a splendid suit of the Turkish fashion.

The duchess of Ancafter was in the character of a sultana, in which she was universally admired, her robe being of purple satin bordered with ermine, and flowing on the ground in all the pomp and state of Eastern magnificence. Many gentlemen also, whose fortunes entirely arise from trade, seemed laudably desirous of shewing the opulence of their country to the illustrious stranger, who honoured it with his presence: some of the most superb, as well as best-fancied dresses in the whole assembly, being those of citizens. On this occasion, the quantity of gold and silver tissue, made into Indian, Persian, and Chinese habits, with the quantity of diamonds, by which these habits were decorated, is past belief, nothing but the actual view could convince the mind of its reality.

As to the ladies, a more beautiful groupe never appeared: in the choice of their dresses, the whole elegance of female taste was exerted; and at twelve, when the company unmasked to go to supper, the description of the Mithometan paradise immediately rushed upon the memory. The sight, in short, was almost too dazzling to bear.

Two of the city common-council appeared in their mazareen gowns: (the propriety of their dress was greatly admired, it being considered as fit an habit to play the fool in, as any.)

The stage was lined with crimson velvet, and illuminated round, which prodigiously heightened the grandeur of the scene. Six rooms were set apart for supper, in which a profusion of plate appeared. The tables were covered with all imaginable elegance, both of wines and eatables; and the magnificence of the desert, in which were seen stately palaces, and beautiful landscapes, was beyond description. The number of waiters was computed at not less than four hundred, yet there was great want of accommodation at supper; and perhaps it would have been better imagined to have had side-boards of cold provisions, to which people might have resorted occasionally, as they did for sweetmeats, wine, tea, &c.

At twelve, the royal family, and the whole company, unmasked for the rest of the night: the ball was opened, with a few minuets, about two o'clock, and the dancing continued till six. His royal highness the duke of Gloucester danced with lady Bell Stanhope.

Wine and other provisions were handed up, by means of handkerchiefs, to the company in the galleries, by their friends below, which at first produced some little dispute with one of the waiters; but this being always a customary, as well as an allowable practice, the dispute, by the prudent intervention of the officer on duty, soon subsided.

The whole, in short, was conducted with the greatest propriety and decorum; and, whether we consider the magnificence of the entertainment, the brilliance of the company, the richness of the dresses, or the splendor

splendor of the ladies, who vied with each other, on this occasion, in beauty and elegance, nothing perhaps has ever yet been seen equal to it, either in this or any other country. But what reflects the greatest honour on the royal personage, by whose munificence it was given, all manner of gaming was totally prohibited, to the great disappointment of rooks and sharpers, who expected to have made a most plentiful harvest on this occasion.

The value of the jewels, which were worn on this occasion, was supposed to amount to not less than two millions of money.

Epigram on Mrs. Rossi's performing Night, at the Masquerade.

Behold, in character of *Night*,
All clad in dark array,
Fanny appears!—the thought how right!—
Fanny has had her *day*.

On the 11th he went to Drury-lane play-house, to see Mr. Garrick play *Lafignan* in *Zara*. The play was advertised to begin at seven o'clock, which was an hour later than usual. At seven the house was quite full of the best company; a great number of the principal nobility being there. The king of Denmark did not appear till a considerable time after: the audience however waited with the greatest good humour, and not one person throughout the whole house was seen or heard to manifest the smallest degree of dislike. When they had thus patiently waited near half an hour, one of the actors came upon the stage, and informed the audience, that the king of Denmark had sent word, he was detained upon particular business, and had desired that the play might begin; but the performer very politely left it to the audience, whether they would wait till the king of Denmark came, which he apprehended would be in about ten minutes; or begin the play immediately: upon which the whole house, with one voice, cried No! No! we will wait. The ten minutes expired, and no King appeared. The audience (which was very extraordinary) waited cheerfully; they were not in the least dissatisfied. In about five minutes more his Danish majesty appeared, when he was saluted with such loud and unanimous shouts of applause, as were never heard in that house before. He was accompanied by the Earl Temple in the stage box, with whom he conversed during greatest part of the time.

Next day, the 12th, he took leave of the royal family, the nobility, &c. This day observing a number of poor people under the windows of his apartments, he threw several handfulls of gold amongst them.

On the 13th, at nine in the morning, he set out for Dover, in his way to Paris. In his way thither he viewed Chatham and other places.

In general he was extremely affable and condescending, constantly shewing himself whenever the people were in expectation of seeing him, and generous to profusion.

When the king of France received information of his Danish majesty's intention to visit his kingdom, he directly ordered two of the first dukes of France to wait for him at Calais, and attend him to Paris, which was done accordingly.

The REVIEW of BOOKS is obliged to be deferred to our next.

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THE
POLITICAL REGISTER,
For DECEMBER, 1768.

NUMBER XXI.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A LETTER to the MAN who thinks
himself MINISTER.

MY L—

Nov. 1768.

I AM so little known to your —, although you are so much so to me, that to give you any personal reasons why I address myself to you at this time, can be of little consequence either to the public, your —, or myself: But the eminent station in which you have so suddenly, so amazingly, and so unhappily been placed, the critical situation your double conduct has brought you into, and your being at the opening of —, which, in all probability your — thinks, you have had the greatest share in forming, are all inducements for one who wishes well

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to the public, to set before you the light you appear in to the world, and those insurmountable difficulties you have brought upon this strange mixed adm——n, with regard to every national concern, that has been totally neglected, for the more interesting pursuit of your pleasure and your avarice.

Your —, who never took any step in public or private life, without a view to your own interest, and who to promote that desirable end, never scrupled to deceive and betray whomsoever you had any dealings with, may possibly attribute this letter to some private motive or design of my own, instead of that public one I have professed; but to free you from any conjectures of that sort, I will assure you, that I never will have any transaction with you of any kind, having long had reason to believe the character your — has established in the world (which is confirmed by some of your late associates) is too justly founded, not to make me shun any commerce with you as a man; and as a m——r (it makes me laugh to call you so) the contemptible opinion I have of you in common with the rest of my fellow subjects, has equally determined me never to deserve your favour, though I will your esteem; for even a bad man must reverence a good one.

I will avoid all retrospection to that early period of your political sally, when you endeavoured to establish a patriotic character by the most indecent and most violent personal abuse of that very *favourite*, at whose feet you have since fallen prostrate, sued for your pardon, and to whom not only devoted yourself, but for whom you also basely sacrificed that very *man* that led you forth, to whom you vowed all kind of devotion, and who, was so deceived in you, as to have placed you in that very office you now disgrace, by making use of the power belonging to it, to sacrifice not only that once great *idol* of yours, but every *friend* he has, and with whom you lately professed such close connections.

This, my l—, is known to all the world, and I shall not dwell upon it; as such a hint of it, is sufficient to carry people's reflection back for a moment to those times, and conse-

consequently will shew your —'s character and conduct in the light I intend it shall appear, and which it deserves.

Your conduct, my I—, in private life, I will not describe, nor concern myself more about, than is necessary to prove it consistent with your public one, and that both are as natural to your principles and disposition, as unnatural to your birth and education : But, my I—, that there scarce lives *one* in this age to vie with your — for *falsehood* of every kind, is a fact known to every one ; therefore none will pity your fall, though they may have envied your rise ; for you will undoubtedly very soon be *that sacrifice* which the state you have brought this country into, will shortly require : Do not flatter yourself, my I—, that such a sacrifice will do your name honor, or raise your character above its present low pitch ; no, my I—, taking it in the view of a public sacrifice, your memory will still remain as insignificant as your private conduct has ever made your character, and your fall will only be quoted in future, to deter such weak, assuming *novices* in business from daring to grasp at the helm of state, without being better qualified in every respect.

Your — begun with a kind of shuffling conduct that was very suspicious, when you was first introduced to the late Duke of Cumberland, by your patron the Earl of C——m, it appears his Royal Highness's sagacity and penetration was no less just than his judgment ; for he then foretold what you have since proved, and declared to that Earl and to others, what he then thought of you ; though his Royal Highness's ad—n was reduced to put the seals into your hands in 1765 ; which your — knows was then without the approbation or consent of the Earl of C——m who declined them, and to whom you pretended to be attached ; recollect my I—, what passed between your — and that *great man* at *Hayes*, when you went to ask his advice about your acceptance.

Your quitting those seals the next year, and throwing into confusion all those members of the ad——n whom you were associated with, and had promised to support, be-

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sides the ungrateful part of it, to your S——n, at the very time you were professing your attachment to *him* with the meanest submissions and overtures to the Earl of B——e through another channel; and the public and solemn declarations you made at that time in a great assembly, *that you resigned because you did not find your expectations answered in the hopes of that great man (then Mr. Pitt) being at the head of affairs, who you always understood was to be so, or you would not have accepted any office*; this resignation of yours, my l——, was such a refined stroke of policy, as people that were not intimately acquainted with your —'s private character, did not discern the drift of, yet it grew so obvious, that it was imitated by another servant of the cr——n, not less interested, nor less ungrateful; whose natural confusion of ideas, joined to the giddiness of his lordship's having been placed by accidents and the distresses of government, where, he could otherwise never have found himself, although his office was in some degree connected with the profession he is of; yet he followed you, as he had often done others, and will many more, and it answered to you both; for the Earl of C——m no sooner got his foot in the cl——t, than your — was placed at the head of that board, where you now preside, and that *noble* lord, (in order to avoid his re-election) by some political shuffle, was left to remain in the office he had before signified his resignation of; although, a very *great personage* had expressed his indignation of his lordship's ingratitude to him, in the strongest terms of resentment.

Your — was scarce seated in your new office, but your natural disposition prevailed, and you could not help showing yourself in your proper colours, by taking advantage of your patron's unfortunate ill state of health, to rivet yourself at his expence to the Earl of B——e and his party, and as you imagined, by that means, establish your seeming weight with your S——n; your overtures immediately after to the Marquis of R———m, and the endeavours you made use of to draw that nobleman into the same devotion with yourself, are proofs of this; and when that failed,
the

the shameful quibble you made use of to distinguish between the *man* and the *M*——*r*, as a salvo to yourself, when your *S*——*n* denied your power, was of a piece with the rest. By degrees you neglected, or rather changed all those measures laid down by your former *patron*; you also forced all his friends and connections into the disagreeable part of resigning their offices, from a strict sense of honor, as they would find it impossible to serve the *K*—— and the public according to the plan they had acquiesced in; but in this you were for a time disappointed, and grew frightened, as most of them had a different sense of their situation, and whilst their principal remained, they chose the more disagreeable part of persisting in keeping their posts, like centinels placed to watch the enemy, who, though unable to act or do any other good, yet observe and give warning of what they see approaching.

Thus your —'s double conduct obliged a late lord lieutenant of Ireland to resign, and to leave his *f*——*n*'s service with reluctance, but with a decency equal to his firmness, and which was only exceeded by the universal regret that was expressed by all ranks in that kingdom, for the loss of one of his lordship's character. Thus you laid a trap for the dismissal of a brave and deserving general, though you can submit to let that dismissal go in the name of your new titled *f*———*y* for the colonies, whose subserviency to every minister that ever acquired power, is ready to receive all the blame and indignation of it, to make his court to your —, and to serve some immediate interested purpose of his own.

Thus also have you been endeavouring to throw every affront you could on the Earl of Sh———*n*, to oblige him to a resignation, as you have at last the Earl of C——*m*, by determining to turn out the Earl of Sh———*n*, and by that means, you have prevented the Earl of C——*m* waiting for an interval of health, to avail himself of the office he held, for the purpose only of ushering himself into the cl——t, where he would have been able to have set your —'s conduct, with all your poor little quibbling tran-

transactions, in their proper light, and which are equally seen and despised by all the world; but your earnestness to affront the late f——y of the f——n department, has exposed you to an attack from your new confederates in ad——n (the B-----'s), in which every one sees you have been got the better of; for lord W—— tried and proved his strength, by gaining his point for a friend of his, against your *Newmarket friend*, as well as the friend of the f——n f——y, in whose department the employment was, that was lately bestowed on Mr. L—: Your — will find that *knot* of B-----'s, too strong for your weakness to entie: your policy there failed you, and every one saw you were no longer M——r from the hour you opened the door to them, nor will their activity and abilities be still, till they have put one of their own heads in your place, and every dependant in their interest is satisfied: you vainly think you have done enough, by giving Mr. R— the whole of that *place*, which you would only give the half of to your present Ch——r of the Ex——r, who is ready enough to act under you after that affront; and to make it the more obvious, you even dismissed a friend from *the half*, without any warning, for your new-acquired ally.

The contempt with which you have, in several instances, treated the Ch——r, who has lately been your only support, are equal proofs of your ingratitude to the Earl of C——m, and your inability as a first M——, or you would have managed such a disposition, as his lordship's better: But you have now only added to that great lawyer's sovereign contempt for, an implacable hatred of you.

In short, my lord, there is scarce an individual in public life that you have not betrayed; and none in private, whom you ever had any thing to do with, that you have not deceived: So much for your conduct towards individuals in your m—— capacity, which has engrossed so much of that time you can spare from your *mistress* and your *horses*, that you have made it difficult to find out any step you have as yet taken for the public service, except in —, where
your

your — has sported very lavishly indeed with the — purse, as you have with the — authority; for no man has ever dared to interfere with the interior part of —, and consequently trampled upon the laws of your country, the privileges and freedom of the subjects, as you have done: You have not spared the property of great subjects to carry the point of those, whose cause your interest induces you to support: But as this will certainly be again the subject of — enquiry, I shall wave the discussion of it here.

What has been your conduct with regard to the colonies? For if you are to be considered as a *first man*, you must in some degree be responsible for all measures; 'twill not avail you, to say, this is in such an one's department; we all know, that as *men* and *things* are, they are little more than clerks in office, whom you have recommended, as the *Favourite* dictated to you. Has there been any one salutary step taken to oblige the *Americans* to return to their obedience, except the sending two battalions over, after the whole country has been so long in almost open rebellion to the laws? when 'tis well known, that any firmness of government, and a resolute, temperate support given to a deserving *governor* there, would long since have reduced those ungrateful subjects to their obedience; I do not mean by this, that I would recommend (as others have) beginning with sanguinary counsels, which would only produce examples of severe, yet unnecessary revenge, and which would only tend to rivet the k—'s immediate authority with your immediate power—and make both, tho' equally obeyed, equally dreaded: No, my l—, I am not one of those who approve that maxim, *Oderint dum metuant*; Let them hate, so they fear; nor was I ever for leaving the colonies in that state you (and your immediate predecessors in power) have done, which may at last oblige his M—y (who is as eminent for his good-nature, as for his good intentions) to pursue measures which he abhors; and by which, you mean to throw your successor (for one you must soon have, or this country will be beyond retrieving) into those unavoidable

voidable difficulties, which your own inabilities, and those of your associates, have already plunged you into; and to cause such intemperance, which you flatter yourself may precipitate wiser men into the most unpopular and most dangerous courses: your — may be mistaken in this; for there are yet men, whose wisdom, abilities, and experience, and whose firmness have been tried, who, if applied to in time, and if well assured of support, will yet disperse the clouds which you have raised; *men*, who have never wavered an instant in their opinion of that duty and obedience, which was due from the colonies to the mother-country; and the propriety, and indeed necessity, there was, in *America's* contributing, in some degree, towards the relief of England, that was involved in such a debt for their security and prosperity; *men*, who would have carried those wise and salutary measures, originally planned, into execution, had not those former *friends* and associates of your — (whom you have since deserted) used every art to stir up the colonies to a resistance: and even those arts would have failed, had there not been means found out here, unfortunately to withdraw the favor and support of the cl—t from that able *minister* who then presided.

I know, my l—, there are those now among you, who are friends to severe counsels, and who will alledge, that it is an easy matter to harangue upon lenity; but the practice is not so safe, where the subordination of our colonies is at stake; and that to forgive, is to encourage; that the security of the government depends upon a resolute and vigorous conduct; not to be awed by fear, nor to be moved by compassion; and that not to punish and make examples of the leaders, would argue timidity, or, at best, too much remissness. But however plausible these arguments may be; however suited to the temper and disposition of those violent, unthinking heads, yet I doubt the effects would not prove what those gentlemen might flatter themselves with; for the spirit of this resistance has been so encouraged by some, whom I have no occasion to mention here; and less so, to name to your—; and such pains taken by the underlings,

to spread it thro' all the provinces of *America*, where it has so mixed with the mass of the people, that I should apprehend all violent and bloody measures will but exasperate, and not extinguish, as things now are; and those very men were the principal seducers to draw the colonies into their error and disobedience; and who have not only infected them with a degree of contempt for that very authority which you now would avail yourself of, but also with a particular hatred to one sett of gentlemen, whose steady conduct and principles, have not only proved them the true friends of this country, but manifestly made it apparent, they are the only *men* that can at last be looked up to, and sought out, for their assistance. I will acknowledge, and, in some degree, allow, that there might be too great a stoicism or contempt for *American popularity* in that very able *minister*, who (like a true *Englishman*, and an honest one too) would have made them contribute at least towards their own expences, when he proposed that *very Stamp-Act* which the k— and p——t approved: and at the same time, I believe his reason for not more industriously courting the vulgar applause of the colonists, at the expence of this country, was the consciousness of his being right in not doing so: it were to be wished he had stood as well in the opinion of that crowd, as in that of all impartial people, and all real well-wishers to this country; nay, I wish with all my soul, *He* and his friends had stooped a little, *ad captum vulgi*, to take in those fluttering hearts which are to be caught by any thing baited with the name of *Liberty*. But perhaps the times would not admit of it, nor the situation of things; and perhaps too, there was no way to avert the impending fate of that despicable, humbling figure, we have made, ever since that *minister* was displaced; it has been as a scourge from heaven for our pride and luxury, and the terrible situation of our affairs at present shews it, the confusion we are in at home, the contempt we are in every where abroad, proves it. But, alas! nothing can make it more evident, than your l—— being placed in that chair where a *Walpole* and a *Grenville* has been seated.

330 *A Letter to the Man who thinks himself Minister.*

Before I take my leave of you, my —, I must drop one word or two, to remind your — of another capital misfortune that has happened to this country during your ad——n; which I really believe could not have fallen upon us, under any other, and which I have some doubts if you are not still ignorant of; though if you are, you are the only one in all Europe that is so: I mean your suffering the French to undertake the conquest of *Corfica* in a time of profound peace, and robbing those brave *brother islanders* of their darling liberty, which they have been so many years struggling for; and that we should admit of so poor a pretext as a treaty of cession from a *republic* that has ever shewn itself an enemy to the interest of these kingdoms, and who could not have more essentially proved it, than by thus pretending to give some sanction to the all-grasping views of the aspiring house of Bourbon, who, by this conquest, make themselves masters of all the Mediterranean commerce, besides many other advantages. The Genoeses would never have had this opportunity to so essentially stab our trade and navigation, or at least would not have dared to have waked our vengeance, had this country, during the two last wars, ever employed any naval commander-in-chief in those seas, who had the least knowledge of the different states in the Mediterranean; such an one could ever put an end to the daring projects of that *Frenchified republic*, and convince them they are more at the mercy of England at any time than of France, especially while we preserve that good and faithful ally the king of Sardinia. But, my lord, I am afraid the Genoeses find our present m——y as ignorant of the value and consequence of the kingdom of *Corfica*, as our naval commanders were of the weakness of Genoa; and I am induced to believe, that neither your —, nor your very confined low *Cotterie* (under whose influence you act) know any thing relative to *Corfica*; for I observe, in all the just attacks that have been made on your ad——n, with regard to that island, none of your hireling-writers have ever defended your conduct upon principles that have the least shadow of reason: I flatter myself,

myself, and indeed I find this important business will come before —, as 'tis thought, there are *powerful* reasons why it should;—*French money once bought Dunkirk, why should it not Corsica?* 'Tis to be hoped this — of — will prove themselves the true r——s of the people, and not as a former one, a set of interested, bribed mercenaries, that followed every hand of power that held out the — purse, and which made them change their v—— accordingly, and successively, to the disgrace of a British — of —, and to the scandal of the whole world.

Your —, we hear, intends to make the E—I—C—y pay the civil-list debt, instead of making them throw in their aid to the public;—but what will that avail, but for a short time to feed you and your avaricious *mistress*, with her dirty sett of sycophants? or, perhaps, to gratify the exorbitant demands, and silence those tools of the *favourite*, who had been turned out from time to time, as well as to satisfy those who 'tis thought necessary to retain in office, and make good what your — has expended in their — in which you have far exceeded all your predecessors? In this, I do not really accuse your —, for I do you the justice to believe you know little more of the matter, than lending and signing your name where you are bid: this sort of knowledge requires something more deep and solid, than that little capacity I take your — to be endowed with;—there are those who have managed all this for you, and have by those means already accumulated very considerable fortunes at the expence of the public:—My lord, there is scarce a clerk in the —, that does not cry out shame on the profusion in one part of that office, and the neglect of all kinds in another part; and this is known to every gentleman in the city, who has unfortunately any business with that b—d.

In short, my —, 'tis impossible to enumerate the many distresses you have brought upon this distracted country; but 'tis evident, they will overwhelm us, and plunge us into all kinds of fatal anarchy and confusion. Therefore, for your S——n's sake, for your country's sake, nay,

fer your own sake—quickly resign, my l—, and let us have some able person to lead and direct, from whom we may have some hopes of salvation: it is in vain to talk to the wind, or argue against men's reason founded on facts; your — is really become the most unpopular man that is now in the kingdom, and it will be impossible for your writers to convert any man who cares what becomes of his k— or his country: Your conduct in *public* and *private*, has made such an impression on the sober part of mankind, as to make them consider our present situation and future prospect, equally melancholy and destructive. Consider, my l—, with whom you are associated in the ad—n; gentlemen whose principles, whose language, whose conduct have been so diametrically opposite to yours, on every political system; you know there are not any three of you who think alike on the same point. You know you are each of you equally solicitous to overturn the other, and glad to throw all the blame of any miscarriage on each other. You dare not trust each other in the cl—t; that is plain, by your having now sent up for that *virtuous, sober, and temperate moderator*, the pious — of —, to be again the go-between of this negotiation, as he has been of almost every other; to what therefore can this confusion tend? only towards the total ruin of the country, the annihilating all legal authority, and the breaking up the very foundation of the state; and when that is compleated, new ones must be super-induced; for when the fundamental principles of a free state are totally changed, no matter by whom it is so, either anarchy must come in, and then God only knows what will follow; or else absolute power must ensue, and then we all know what will come next. My l—, your pride, your weakness, and your avarice, prevent your seeing the precipice on which you stand, for your — will be the immediate sacrifice of all this; and happy for us, if such an insignificant one alone could atone and save us.—But alas! it will not; and the consequences must be to be dreaded, and not to be prevented.

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I take my leave abruptly, as I am just told your G— has wisely taken the alarm, and intend to retire; if 'tis true, I most heartily congratulate my K—— and my country—and hope no one will disturb your retreat. I am sure they will not envy you the *person* with whom you chuse to make it.

I am, my Lord,

To my K—— and Country,

A TRUE FRIEND.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

Nov. 25, 1768.

IN consequence of repeated solicitations on the part of the Earl of Chatham, a most cordial, firm, and perpetual union this day took place, with his noble brother-in-law, Earl Temple. It is not doubted that this friendship will produce the most solid advantages to the public, whose interests have, since these noble lords were jointly in office, been occasionally betrayed and neglected. Mr. Grenville has heartily acceded to this union; so that it may be presumed, there are now the fairest hopes of seeing this country rescued from the storm that for some years has been gathering with a most threatening aspect. In like manner, previous to the late war, when by ignorance, folly, and corruption, the public affairs were reduced to the most deplorable situation, this family, and this family only, rescued the kingdom from the fate that seemed inevitably to await it; and from being the most abject and despicable, it became, in their hands, the most powerful and respectable nation upon the face of the globe.

It has been asserted, by the friends of administration, that the Earl of Bristol's acceptance of the privy-seal, in the room of the Earl of Chatham, was with that noble lord's consent: but it now comes out, that no such consent ever existed, notwithstanding any unwarrantable use which may have been made of his lordship's name, by supposed friends.

There

There is the best authority for assuring the public, that the Earl of Chatham has strongly declared his disapprobation of any intended measure to expel Mr. Wilkes.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

IT is no less certain than remarkable, that on Thursday the 29th of September, 1768, being the anniversary of the birth-day of the Princess-Royal, their Majesties came to St. James's, where all the foreign ministers and foreign nobility were to pay their court on the occasion :—and it is a notorious fact, that not any of *his Majesty's ministers* were at court on that day—nor any one of the *great officers*, except a most eminent one of the Law : this may be depended on as a truth ; and the public ought to know with what disrespect and inattention the K—— and K——m are treated, by those who are not only called, but receive the emoluments of *Ministers*.

The **KING'S** SPEECH at the Meeting of the **PARLIAMENT**,
on Tuesday the 8th. Nov. 1768.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE opportunity which the late general election gives me of knowing from their representatives in parliament, the more immediate sense of my people, has made me desirous of meeting you as early as could be consistent with your own convenience.

The shortness of the last session of the late parliament prevented their prosecuting the consideration of those great commercial interests which had been entered upon in the preceding session. You will, I am persuaded, agree with me in opinion, that your deliberations on these very important objects ought to be resumed without loss of time ; and I trust that they will terminate in such measures as may be productive of the most considerable and essential benefits to this nation.

It would have given me great satisfaction to have been able to acquaint you, that all the other powers of Europe had been as careful as I ever have been, to avoid taking any step that might endanger the general tranquillity. I have constantly received, and do still receive from them, the strongest assurances of their pacific dispositions towards this country. No assurances however shall divert my constant resolution stedfastly to attend to the general interests of Europe ;

rope; nor shall any consideration prevail upon me to suffer any attempt that may be made derogatory to the honour and dignity of my crown, or injurious to the rights of my people.

At the close of the last parliament I expressed my satisfaction at the appearances which then induced me to believe, that such of my subjects as had been misled in some parts of my dominions were returning to a just sense of their duty; but it is with equal concern that I have since seen that spirit of faction, which I had hoped was well nigh extinguished, breaking out afresh in some of my colonies in North America; and, in one of them, proceeding even to acts of violence, and of resistance to the execution of the law. The capital town of which colony appears by late advices to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government; and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off their dependance on Great Britain. On my part, I have pursued every measure that appears to be necessary for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience to the authority of the legislature. You may rely upon my steady perseverance in these purposes; and I doubt not but that, with your concurrence and support, I shall be able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons, who, under false pretences, have but too successfully deluded numbers of my subjects in America; and whose practice, if suffered to prevail, cannot fail to produce the most fatal consequences to my colonies immediately, and, in the end, to all the dominions of my crown.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year I have ordered to be laid before you, fully relying on your readiness to grant me the necessary supplies. Indeed I cannot have a doubt of finding in this house of commons the same affectionate attachment to my person and government, as I have always hitherto experienced from my faithful commons.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

It is with great satisfaction that I now find myself enabled to rejoice with you, upon the relief which the poorer sort of my people are now enjoying, from the distress which they have so long laboured under from the high price of corn. At the same time that we are bound devoutly to acknowledge the gracious interposition of providence, it will become us to apply the best precautions that human wisdom can suggest, for guarding against the return of the late calamity. In the choice, however, of proper means for that purpose, you cannot proceed with too much circumspection.

I have nothing further to recommend to you, than that, in all your deliberations, you keep up a spirit of harmony among yourselves. Whatever differences of opinion may prevail in other points, let it appear, that wherever the interest of your country is immediately concerned, you are all ready to unite. Such an example from you cannot fail of having the best effects from the temper of my people in every part of my dominions; and can alone produce that general union among ourselves, which will render us properly respected abroad, and happy at home,

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An obliging correspondent has sent us the following sensible paper. He says there are *two* circumstances which make the publication of it necessary and interesting at this time. One is the plentiful harvest, so graciously taken notice in his majesty's speech; and he thinks that a parliamentary attention to the plan here laid down will be a great means of continuing that plenty; without keeping the ports open for the importation of corn, which in a little time, he says, will certainly drain this country of its cash; besides the great injury thereby done to agriculture. The other is, the request that will, and must necessarily be made, for a considerable sum to discharge the arrears of the civil list, and perhaps provide for certain contingencies. A sum, which, if levied on the people by a tax, may have disagreeable consequences, and if extorted from any particular body of men, must be alarming to public property. He adds, that the plan here offered to the public, affords ample provision for this unfortunate circumstance; and concludes with an opinion, which, indeed, seems to be not ill founded, that a very great advantage to the nation in general, would be the necessary and infallible consequence of putting this plan into execution.

A Proposal for selling Part of the Forest Lands and Chaces, with a few Reflections on the public Advantages of such a Measure.

THE forest lands when depopulated by William the Conqueror, who shewed greater regard to the wild beasts of this country, than to his conquered subjects; were at the time, some of the best cultivated in the kingdom. *New Forest* in *Hampshire*, was covered with numberless villages for thirty miles in extent, and had thirty mother churches, besides many subordinate ones within that district. *Enfield chace*, and *Epping forest*, and several other forests and chaces, which are at present, in a manner, useless; would become of very considerable advantage to the kingdom, if properly cultivated.

The only public advantage that could arise from these lands lying waste, was from the timber they produced for the royal Navy. But the timber, and even the young trees are so absolutely destroyed in most places, that no benefit of the kind is to be expected from the greatest part of them. 40, or 50,000 acres of the best wooded parts of the different forests, and chaces properly inclosed, and preserved, would produce more timber than the whole does at present.

The

The several forests, and chaces are computed to contain above a million of acres. But supposing this estimate to exceed by one half, and that they contain 500,000 acres; there would still remain 250,000 acres for royal parks, chaces and timber.

The property of these lands has been long vested in the crown, with a right of commonage by custom to the borderers. There are also grants from the crown of several lodges, with certain lands, and privileges annexed. It is not proposed that any person should be deprived of the right or property he is legally entitled to in them, without an equivalent. The lands appropriated to the different lodges, might be suffered to remain as at present; and the value of the right of commonage, or other privilege any person may claim, left to the determination of a jury, and paid out of the money arising from the sale. As for numbers of cottagers, who have erected huts on these lands, and support an idle life, by letting a few half starved cattle range for a scanty subsistence in the forests, and by stealing wood, deer, or game; they can have no pretension to redress; but ought rather to be repressed, as nurseries of villainy and idleness.

If the widening of narrow passages, and opening convenient streets, can be deemed sufficient motives by the legislature, for obliging persons to quit their habitations, and dispose of their properties at a price fixed by a jury, it may be expected, with much greater reason, that a law of this nature, which carries a public benefit of so much higher importance along with it, should readily be assented to by parliament.

The consent of his majesty, as a supreme part of the legislature, and chief proprietor of these lands, is absolutely necessary to the passing a law for this purpose. And to his high honour, it cannot even be doubted, but he will most readily give his consent to any measure, that appears to be for the public good. More particularly to a law of this nature.

Enfield chase, and *Epping forest*, when divided into small lots, would undoubtedly, from their vicinity to the metropolis, sell at a good price, and when inclosed and cultivated, would probably be worth 2 guineas an acre, which is given for worse lands; for these being quite fresh, would yield a very great increase, with less expence of cultivation; and be of infinite benefit to London, by supplying its markets with corn, hay, straw, poultry, and many commodities of which there is an apparent scarcity, since the town has been so greatly enlarged. I should imagine the whole quantity proposed to be sold would produce 15s. per acre; and 25 years purchase, one with another, which would produce 4,787,500l. and that 787,500l. would be fully sufficient to answer the va-

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The only public use of the forest lands at present is for the royal Navy. The young men of the country are so absolutely ignorant of the use of the forest, that no human kind is to be seen there. The forest part of the country is 50,000 acres in extent, and is almost entirely uncultivated, and chaces are also in the same state. The forest is at present, more time than it is worth, and the chaces are at present, more time than it is worth.

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the of all the rights of commonage, and other charges and expences that might attend the sale. And the residue, it is obvious, would so far exceed every present demand that it would afford a very great and capital addition to the other supplies and strength of the kingdom in case of another war. Many other advantages would arise from the cultivation of these lands. Even the land tax to be paid by them, would, at 3s. in the pound, amount to above 37,500*l. per Ann.* which would be a saving in proportion, to the landed estates of the kingdom.

If foreign protestants were admitted to purchase these lands, with the privilege of naturalization for themselves, and families, by the purchase of 100 acres; and a further privilege of naturalization, for every family that should occupy a part of them, or a tenement of 10*l. per ann.* within a limited time; and continue in the same for three, or five years. It may reasonably be imagined, that many would grasp at such an opportunity; and even that opulent families would chuse to establish themselves in a country, whose situation, and constitution, with respect to religion, and liberty, cannot be equalled: which would be a great inducement to many useful hands to come along with them; and assist in cultivating their lands, or establishing manufactures on them; to which, their being near the metropolis, where they are always sure of the best market, would be an extraordinary encouragement. So that not only the sums of money that foreigners might pay for such lands; but probably the whole fortune of such families, as well as numbers of useful hands might be acquired; which is a point that may deserve our serious attention, as the numbers of our people must have been greatly diminished by the last war, and are likely to be more so, by the very extensive addition of foreign territory we have acquired.

Whoever reflects on the impolitic conduct of Lewis XIV. in forcing such numbers of his protestant subjects to seek an asylum in this kingdom, on account of their religion, may from thence date the rise and progress of several of the most useful and profitable branches of our manufacture. By their settling in Spitalfields, then the worst inhabited part of the suburbs, it is become in little more than half a century, as opulent and populous, as most other parts of the town. And the descendants of these industrious people, as heartily attached to our constitution, as any other men in the kingdom.

Although war is no more, at least not for the present, we are still to deal with an industrious people, who will always be ready to vie with us in the arts of peace; and are certainly endeavouring to beat us out of foreign markets, by under-
selling.

selling us; which they may possibly effect with greater security, than they could stand before us in the field of battle. The most certain means of avoiding an evil of this nature, which would be much more fatal to us than the loss of any battle, is by encreasing our number of useful hands, and reducing our taxes on the necessaries of life; by which our artificers will be enabled to work at moderate wages, and our manufactures find their way to foreign markets, at as reasonable prices as theirs. The measures that have been long pursued, were quite the reverse; every necessary of life has been taxed, and retaxed, in such a manner, that it must puzzle the greatest adept in ways and means, to find any new tax that can well be laid. So that necessity seems to enforce some other system, than the ruinous one of borrowing and funding.

If we consider the use that has also been made of our national credit; we shall find, that were it not for the soundness of our constitution, it must have betrayed us into ruin. We borrowed 10 millions on it in king William's war; this debt was increased to near 50 millions in queen Anne's wars; in the next to 80 millions; and in this last war we have stretched it to 148 mil. For this 148 mil. we owe; the nation in reality never received above 100 millions, and the remainder has been squandered in jobs, and contracts. How much farther our credit would bear being strained in this manner, without breaking, is more than any but jews, stockjobbers or contractors will pretend to determine: and who that has any regard to his country, will try the experiment? at best it is verging on a precipice, and a few paces more in the same road may become irretrievable. Like a spendthrift, heir to a large estate, in the hands of rapacious usurers, we have given the most extravagant premiums, paid the highest interest, and mortgaged even the equity of redemption of a considerable part of the estate, for a number of years to come.

The benefit the public would receive by the cultivation of 250,000 acres of land, at present, in a manner useless; as well as the advantage it might be to acquire a number of useful hands; do not properly come within the proposed estimate. I shall therefore only rate the value of these lands according to what may be produced by the sale. This I imagine might be sufficient not only to discharge the arrears of the civil list but 3 millions and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the debt due to the bank of England, which is at 3 *per cent.* and would be a saving to the public 105,000*l.* *per ann.* To which may be added, the land-tax as before mentioned (for these lands, when properly cultivated, cannot be rated at less than 20*s.* *per acre*, one with another) which would produce a sum not less than 37,500*l.* *per ann.* at only 3*s.* in the pound.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An Account of the Numbers returned by the Sheriffs at the late contested Elections for Members of Parliament in England.

Abingdon.

John Morton	126
Nathaniel Bailey	124

Andover.

Sir John Griffin Griffin, K.B.	17
Benjamin Liethieulier	15
Sir Francis Blake Delaval	9

Berkshire.

Arthur Vanfittart	1519
Hon. Thomas Craven	1389
John Stone	634
of which 492 were single.	

Bewdley.

Hon. Thomas Lyttelton	24
Sir Edw. Winnington, Bart.	21

Bodmyn.

George Hunt	29
James Laroche	20
Sir Christopher Treife	15

Bramber.

Right Honourable Edward	
Garth Turnour	18
Charles Lowndes	18
Thomas Thoroton	16
Charles Ambler	16

Bridgwater.

Benjamin Allen	139
Lord Perceval	133
Sambrook Freeman Poulett	130

Callington.

Fane William Sharpe	34
Thomas Worley	34
— Bentinck	18
David Hartley	18

Canterbury.

William Lynch	787
Richard Milles	692
— M'Gaire	585
Thomas Belt	544

Carlisle.

Lord Edward Bentinck	387
George Mulgrave	385
John Elliot	309
George Johnstone	307

Carmarthen.

Mr. Bullock	63
rejected	20
Mr. Philipps	52

Cirencester.

Estcourt Creswell	
allowed	447
rejected	43
James Whitshed	490
allowed	437
rejected	36

Samuel Blackwell	473
allowed	304
rejected	210

514
Colchester.

Account of the late Elections.

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Colchester.

Charles Gray	allowed 844	
	rejected 30	
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Isaac Martin Rebow	874	
	allowed 829	
	rejected 26	
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Alex. Fordyce	855	
	allowed 809	
	rejected 32	
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	841	

Cumberland.

Henry Curwen	2186	
	rejected votes 373	
Henry Fletcher	2023	
	rejected 373	
Sir James Lowther	1989	
	rejected 57	
Major Senhouse	1901	
	rejected 57	
Two or three days after the Poll was closed, the Sheriff struck from		
Mess. Curwen and Fletcher	57	
Lowther and Senhouse	12	

Coventry.

Honourable Henry Seymour Conway	972
Hon. And. Archer	633
Mr. Waring	479

And then made the following return :

Curwen	- -	2139
Lowther	- -	1977
Fletcher	- -	1975
Senhouse	- -	1891
Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart. Sheriff.		

Another Account of Cumberland Election.

	Curwen,	Fletcher.	Lowther.	Senhouse.
Rejected	2518 328	2355 328	2061 68	1972 68
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Ped. after the Poll	2190 51	2027 52	1993 16	1904 13
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2139	1975	1977	1891
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Derbyshire.

Lord George Cavendish	2767
Godfrey Bagnal Clarke	1786
Sir Henry Harpur, Bart.	1314

Essex.

John Luther	2897
Sir Wm Maynard, Bart.	2597
Jacob Houlblon, jun.	2021
Eliab Harvey	1778

Dorchester.

Hon. John Damer	218
William Ewer	144
Laurence Cox	85

Fowey.

Philip Rathleigh	69
James Modyford Heywood	61
John Williams	29
Arthington	26

Haslemere.

Account of the late Elections.

Haslemere.

William Burrell	71
T. M. Molyneux	71
James Oglethorpe	49
John Johnstone	49

Leicester.

Hon. Booth Grey	1366
Eyre Coote	1334
— Palmer	1284
John Darker	1260

Hindon.

John St. Leger Douglas	152
William Huffey	151
Edward Morant	73

Lewes.

Hon. Thomas Hampden	115
Colonel Thomas Hay	110
Thomas Millar	98

Honiton.

Sir George Yonge, Bart.	429
Brafs Crosby	325
John Duke	130

Lincoln.

Thomas Scroop	534
Hon. Constantine Phipps	500
Robert Vyner	449

Huntingdonshire.

Viscount Hinchingbrooke	855
Earl Ludlow	804
Sir Robert Bernard, Bart.	666

London.

Hon. Thomas Harley	3729
Sir Robert Ladbrook, Knt.	3678
William Beckford	3402
Barlow Trecothick	2957
Sir Richard Glyn, Bart.	2823
John Paterfon	1769
John Wilkes	1247

'Ipswich.

Thomas Staunton	357
William Wollaston	357
— Tollemache	291
— Cruttenden	289

Maidstone.

Hon. Charles Marham	} 697
Robert Gregory	
Annisly	

St. Ives.

Thomas Durrant	108
Adam Drummond	107
James Johnstone	81
John Stevens	62

Malmesbury.

Earl of Donnegall	11
Thomas Howard	11
Sir William Mayne	2
Sir Robert Fletcher	2

King's Lynn.

Hon. Thomas Walpole	200
Sir John Turner	174
Crispe Molyneux	159

Marlow.

William Clayton	150
William Dickenson	113
William Matt. Burt	63

Kington upon Hull.

William Weddell	774
Right Hon. Lord Robert	
Manners	545
— Lee	308

Middlesex.

John Wilkes,	1292
George Cooke	827
Sir William Beauchamp	
Proctor	807

Minehead.

Account of the late Elections.

343

Minehead.

Hon. Henry Fownes Luttrell 302
Sir Charles Whitworth 197
Henry Shiffner 167

Preston.

Sir Peter Leicester, Bart. 288
Colonel Burgoyne 259
Sir Frank Standish 236
Sir Hugh Houghton 230

Morpeth.

Peter Beckford 51
Sir Matthew Ridley, Bart. 29
Francis Eyre 24

New Radnor.

John Lewis — 547
Edward Lewis — 446

Norfolk.

Sir Edward Afley, Bart. 2977
Thomas de Grey 2754
Sir Armine Wodehouse,
Bart. 2680
Wenman Coke 2609

Reading.

Henry Vansittart 400
John Dodd — 398
John Bindley — 193

Rocheſter.

John Calcraft — 313
William Gordon — 308
Admiral Geary — 292

Northampton.

Sir George Rodney, Bart. 611
Sir George Osborne, Bart. 611
Mr. Howe 538

New Sarum.

Edward Bouverie — 52
Henry Dawkins — 27
Hon. Stephen Fox 27

Norwich.

Harbord Harbord 1811
Edward Bacon 1596
Thomas Beevor 1136

Scarborough,

Captain George Manners 29
Fountayne Osbaldeſton 24
Sir John Major, Bart. 22

Oxford City.

Serjeant William Nares 592
Hon. William Harcourt 562
Mr. Craven 332
Sir James Cotter 80

Shrewſbury.

Noel Hill — 341
rejected 108

Oxford University.

Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart. 352
Mr. Page 296
Mr. Jenkinson 198
Dr. Hay 62

Lord Clive — 23
Wm Johnston Pulteney 212
rejected 115

97

Peterborough.

Sir Matthew Lamb, Bart. 306
Matthew Wyldbore 292
Baker John Littlehales 103

Southwark.

Henry Thrale — 1248
Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. 1158
Mr. Belchier — 994

Stafford.

Stafford.

Right Honourable William	
Chetwynd	237
Richard Whitworth	222
Hugo Meynell	206

Wigan.

George Byng	57
Beaumont Hotham	54
John Smith Barry	44

Wallingford.

John Aubrey	69
Colonel Robert Pigot	67
Sir John Gibbons, Bart.	38

Winchelsea.

Thomas Orby Hunter	20
Earl of Thomond	20
Right Hon. Sir Thomas	
Sewell, Knt.	8
Colonel Phillipson	8

Wells.

Clement Tudway	171
Robert Child	164
Peter Taylor	119

Yarmouth, Hampshire.

William Strode	29
Jervoise Clarke	29
Hon. Colonel Parker	15
Thomas Dummer	15

Westmoreland.

John Robinson	1126
Thomas Fenwick	981
John Upton	900

* * The above are all we have been able to collect from the best accounts we could procure. There are doubtless both omissions and errors in it, but if any gentleman will be so obliging as to send us notice of them, we shall be very glad to correct them in our next.

The following having been printed in one of the Red Books of this Year, we hope it will be considered as no improper Supplement to the above List.

Elections appointed at the Bar.

1768,	24	Nov.	Pontefract	Henry Strackey, Esq;
	29		Preston	Sir H. Houghton, J. Burgoyne, Esq;
	1	Decem.	Cumberland	Henry Fletcher, Esq;
	6		Northampton	Hon. Thomas Howe
	15		Yarmouth,	I. W. G. L. Parker, T. Dummer, Esqqs
1769,	14,	Jan.	Winchelsea	Sir Thomas Shewell, Rich. Phillipson, Esq;
	17		Bewdley	Sir Edward Winnington
	19		Radnor,	Edward Lewis, Esq;
	31		Abington	Nathaniel Bayly, Esq;
	2	Feb.	Pembroke Co.	Hugh Owen, Esq;
	7		Forvey	J. Williams, T. Arthington, Esq;
	9		Kinross	John Irwin, Esq;
	14		Cirencester	Samuel Blackwell, Esq;
	14		Suffolk	Tho. Fonnereau, Esq;
	21		Carmarthen	Joseph Bullock, Esq;

Before Committee of Elections.

1768,	2	Dec.	Poole	Joseph Gulston, Esq;
	14		Bramber	T. Thoreton, Ch. Ambler, Esq;
			Morpeth	Francis Eyre, Esq;
			Wells;	Peter Taylor, Esq;
	23	Jan.	Lewerness	Sir Alexander Grant

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Inscription for the Villa of a decay'd Statesman on the sea-coast.

OLD and abandon'd by each venal friend,
 Here H**** form'd the pious resolution,
 To smuggle some few years, and strive to mend
 A broken character, and constitution.
 On this congenial spot he fix'd his choice,
 (Earl Goodwin trembled for his neighb'ring sand)
 Here Seagulls scream, and Cormorants rejoice,
 And Mariners, tho' shipwreck'd, dread to land.
 Here reigns the blust'ring North and blighting East;
 No tree is heard to whisper, bird to sing,
 Yet Nature cannot furnish out the feast:
 Art he invokes new horrors still to bring.
 Now mould'ring fanes and battlements arise,
 Arches, and turrets nodding to their fall,
 Unpeopled palaces delude his eyes,
 And mimic desolation covers all:
 "Ah! (said the sighing peer) had B*** been true,
 "Nor —'s, —'s, —'s friendship vain,
 "Far other scenes than these had crown'd our view
 "And realiz'd the ruins that we feign.
 "Purg'd by the sword, and beautify'd by fire
 "Then had we seen proud London's hated walls;
 "Owls might have hooted in St. Peter's choir,
 "And Foxes stunk and litter'd in St. Paul's".

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The causes of the decay of trade in London; the real and pretended Merchant distinguished; the use of stock-jobbing, origin of funds, &c.

THO' all the amazing waste of wealth, in the government, has been supply'd by the skill and address of the merchant, yet, that traders were too rich, too wanton, too presuming, has been often known to be the cry of ministers; and it would be no very difficult task to point out a period, when a series of very sincere endeavours were made use of, to impoverish them first, in order to enslave them afterwards.

It is yet fresh in memory, that the merchants of *England* were publicly treated, by those in power, as vagrants and incendiaries, for only demanding that protection which they paid so dearly for, and which they stood so notoriously in need of. And many persons have not forgot, that our

m——rs of that day, were charged with a settled design to humble the city of *London* in particular; and that they were more intent upon it, than it is probable they would have been, if the citizens had been *French* or *Spaniards*.

Whether there was any truth in this charge, or whether the successors of him, against whom it was more particularly laid, have adopted that *design*, as well as all the other maxims of his a——n, I do not take upon me to decide: perhaps such is already the state of the *English* trade in general, or such it may soon become, that it is scarce worth enquiring, at which port our merchants will be first undone.

In virtue of our superiority at sea (though so late exerted), we were in a fair way of getting possession of the whole; possibly, if the war had been continued at sea for a few years longer, we might have levied on the world in general such profits, as would have enabled us to sustain the load of duties imposed on all our importations: but, as that superiority was sacrificed for m——l purposes, as the *French* are not only resuming all the advantages which they have been just deprived of, but putting themselves into a better condition to defend them for the time to come; and as that load will grow more insupportable, in proportion as we grow weaker, our trade, without a miracle in its favour, must gradually sink under it: in which case, the least that can be required of our rulers, is, that the pressure may be every where equal, that it may sink in all places alike, and, above all, that the head may not come to the ground first.—It is asserted by those, who are in a situation to be fully informed, that the trade of *London* has been upon the decline for some years past, and, among the several causes assigned for it, *two* are said to be apparent and undeniable: 1. High duties upon our importations, which are in their own nature so ruinous to trade, are unequally collected: 2. A way has been found, to detach mercantile men from the mercantile interest; or, in other words, not only to admit drones into the hive, but to give the whole direction of it into their hands.

In illustration of the *first*, it is scarce necessary to observe, that the *evil* of *smuggling* arises wholly from high duties: every body sees, that desperate men set the danger at defiance, for the sake of the profits: every body is of opinion, that there is no way so effectual to remove it, as to remove the temptation: and every body wonders, that the same duties, which are so rigidly levied in the port of *London*, (that it is scarce possible for any considerable fraud to be committed there,)

there,) are not levied with the same rigour elsewhere: that the officers in the out-ports are not kept under the same discipline as in *London*: that there is a species of *importers* in many of those places, who are little better than *licensed smugglers*: That these half-smugglers, half-merchants, have most inviting opportunities (which they seldom fail to make use of) to manage matters with the officers, that sometimes goods are landed without any entry at all, and sometimes fraudulent entries are made.

Laws are not always agreeable to reason and right; but, whether they are so or not, they ought to be administered impartially: there is no dispensing-power, that I know of, lodged in any part of the government; and, if there was, no one member of a community ought to be favoured at the expence of another. The citizens and inhabitants of *London* require no exemptions: but then they may insist, and, I hope, will, on being put on a level with the rest of their fellow-subjects. This, I think, is the least that can be done for them: And if it should be urged, that, in regard of the residence of the nobility and gentry from all parts, for a great part of the year amongst them, and other advantages, they are able to bear an over-proportion of taxes, I answer, that they pay dear enough for those advantages: for not to urge the losses they annually incur by irrecoverable debts, they are liable to several duties and services, which the rest of the kingdom are free from: The tax upon hackney-coaches, for example, is peculiar to them; and those upon coals, which affect the manufactures of all sorts, in so eminent a degree, extends but little beyond the bills of mortality: then the price of provisions and labour is far dearer there, than in any other part of *England*; and as to the convenience of navigation, it is well known, that almost all the ports in *England* have the advantage of *London*; that demurrage alone, often devours the profits of a voyage; and that ships from the *western* ports have peached the *West-Indies*, before those from *London* have been able to get clear of the *channel*.

We come now to the *second* cause of the decline of trade at *London*—but, by way of preparatory, it is fit to observe, that when the demands, or, as they were then called, the necessities of government, first began to rise so high, that the ministers, who made those demands, did not think it safe for themselves to raise such supplies within the year, as were sufficient to answer them, but rather chose to double the burden gradually, and imperceptibly, by a process of mortgage and anticipation, so little were the people in general aware of the

consequences of a national debt, that the rise and progress of it were scarce attended to then, and since have scarce been touched upon by any of our general historians.

In like manner, so little were they aware of the inconveniencies which might arise, either to trade, or to the constitution, from *companies*, trading, or pretending to trade, on *joint stocks*, under the authority of an exclusive charter, that, alike during the great contest which held through so many years of K. *Wm's* reign, to take the *East-India* trade out of the direction of *Tories*, and transfer it to *Whigs*; and during *that*, which the project of establishing a *national bank* gave rise to, they rather attended to the issue, as a matter of curiosity and amusement, than as to what fundamentally affected the weal or woe of the republic; and, in like manner also, our general historians, partaking of the inexperience and inapprehension of the times, have passed over both those momentous facts, either without any mention at all, or in a manner so transient and unsatisfactory, as only serves to perplex the superficial, and to provoke the curious and understanding reader.

And yet, during this very interval, in consequence of these very transactions, and to the eternal infamy of that age, if not to the ruin of all those to come, it became notorious, that public or parliament-men might be induced, for * *lucre's* sake, to prostitute their abilities, and sacrifice both their characters and their country in the furtherance of any job, how dirty or how iniquitous soever: it became also notorious, that instead of cultivating the affections of the people, it was the great effort of the new government so to intertwist itself with the property of the people, that it should be impossible to lay the axe to the root of the former, without destroying the latter: and it became also notorious, that in virtue of this alliance between *power* and *money*, those who had the driving of the bargain, and their confederates, were enabled to carve out of the national stock almost what proportion for themselves they pleased.

To be more explicit: At the time when this great, but insensible change was made in the habit of the body-politic, there were but two ways of employing money; namely, in trade and usury: of these, the first, as it deservedly ought, was held honourable; and the last, if extended beyond the

* This paragraph alludes to the great sums given by the *E. India* company in 1693, for obtaining a new act and charter, amounting to near 100,000*l.* and to other bribes, and pensions to members.

pale of the law, as deservedly infamous. The usurer's walk was always under cover; it was frequented by none but the prodigal and the wretched; and where they repaired for assistance, they met with ruin. The trader, on the contrary, lived in the sun-shine: his dealings were open; his character was a pledge for his fortune: the intercourse between him and the labourer and manufacturer, was profitable to both; and every acquisition he made, was an acquisition to the public.

It followed, that while such was the condition of the commonwealth, the rotation of property was similar to it. The wealthy merchant succeeded by purchase to the estate which the lavish heir had squandered; and thus a great part of the money, saved by the land-holder, as portions for younger sons, returned into trade; and, if properly managed, made way for the establishment of a new family.

But when it was discovered, that under a military dispensation, adventurers in trade continued no longer on an equal footing: that the risque was greater, and the profit less: that while the *French*, as well as the *Dutch*, were our rivals at every foreign market, they interrupted our navigation, and made prizes of our ships: that the general application of power, regarded more the views and interests of other states, than our own: and that, in short, abundantly more was to be got, with abundantly more security, by discounting tallies, and preying on the public necessities, than by the richest vein of commerce in the universe, almost every man, who could, made it his business to draw his stock out of trade, and dispose of it in the funds; the consequence of which was, that the whole city seemed converted into a corporation of brokers and usurers; and that which the law held criminal, when practised upon individuals, was not only held innocent, but meritorious, when practised upon the commonwealth; the state of which exactly resembled that of an encumbered, but rich man, in great distress for ready money, yet able to pay large premiums and interest, and give sufficient security; surrounded at once with bailiffs and extortioners, and utterly incapable of redeeming himself out of the talons of the first, without mortgaging all he was worth, to the last.

Thus a new, but destructive species of commerce, arose out of the ruins of the former: for no sooner was it discovered that the funds (as the securities assigned by parliament to the lenders, then first began to be called) were a marketable commodity, and that the price current rose and fell, as the credit of the government waxed and waned, then *transferring* and *stock-jobbing* became a trade; and such artificers of fraud were found, as, to answer their own selfish purposes, could

could *be* the government into credit one day, and out of credit the next, equally to the detriment of those they purchased of, and those they sold to.

It must, however, be admitted, that in these *cannibal* times, a remnant of merchants maintained their integrity, and preferred the honest gains of their own profession, precarious as it was become, to all that could be got by contracts and bargains with the ministers, out of the annual fleecing of their fellow-subjects, or by those other serpentine turns and doubles already mentioned.

Nor was it long before the legislature, beginning to be sensible of the manifold difficulties brought upon the government, as well as the subject, by these scandalous proceedings, made a provision, that for five years to come, no premium, or discount upon tallies, should exceed 6 *per Cent.* under the penalty of forfeiting treble the value, and the offender's being farther liable to the laws as a common extortioner: and such were the fruits of this first attempt to reduce our *national commerce*, and that of *'Change-Alley*, somewhat nearer a level in point of gain, and of the peace which took place immediately after, that merchandizing came again into request: the nation profited more on one hand, and the government was cheaper served on the other.

But still the root remained in the ground: much time was required for the discharge of the debts which had been already contracted, many deficiencies were to be provided for, several new funds were created, several were prolonged, in every stage of this process, monied men were both consulted and gratified. Thus it appeared, that the raising the *Bank*, the new-modelling the *East-India* company, and all the other measures which had been taken to connect the whole moneyed interest with that of the court, and thereby to disarm the city of the importance it began to derive from the frequent distresses of the crown, and the frequent applications made to it for loans, &c. served, at this crisis, to vest that importance in the ministry only; and that whosoever had the management of it, might employ it, like a two-edged sword, either against the crown or the people.

But if nothing can be more astonishing than this unprecedented instance of effronterie, it is, at least, as provoking to find that it was offered in the name of the *traders*: for it is evident, from every circumstance before us, that the most favourable thing which can be said of the *trade* carried on in the *funds*, is, that it serves to prevent a stagnation of that credit and opinion on which their value at the market, in so great

great a measure, depends: and that, in every other regard, it is rather a national nuisance, than a national advantage.

It is also evident, that this kind of trade, and that which was originally called so, have so little relation to each other, that they are, in a manner, irreconcilable enemies: and tho' it should be granted, that many of the *traders* in the *funds* are also *exporters*, it can never be admitted that they join in such *remonstrances* as this, or any other ministerial operation in the latter capacity; notwithstanding they never fail to shelter themselves under that respectful name.

To hasten towards a close: From that time to this, the same maxims have been observed; and, in consequence of them, the moneyed interest has been held in the same subserviency to that of the administration. If we cast our eyes on the trading companies, we find the directors acting under a direction superior to their own; the interest of the merchant sacrificed to that of the *jobber*; and the *bell-wether* contracting for the herd. If we cast our eyes on the magistracy, we find the same leaven prevailing in the lump; we find citizens turning courtiers, cringing at levees, procuring themselves seats in parliament, and, instead of assisting, as they ought, to preserve and enlarge the traffic of the kingdom, assisting to traffic it away, for the sake of a lucrative share in some contract, some remittance, or some other dirty consideration of the like nature. And, lastly, if we cast an eye over the general field of business, we shall find that of the *funds* to be the most thriving walk in it: that during the negotiations of our late loans, and all the various practices grafted upon them, the *locust tribe of subscribers, brokers, ticket-mongers, &c.* considerably increased: that numbers of persons laid down their former innocent, but hungry callings, to take up these; and that the readiest way to grow suddenly rich, was to be retained as a factor for the administration.

Nor is even this the worst of the prospect which lies before us: for, not content with deserting, weakening, and betraying the natural interest of trade, those who act this viper's part, appear, on all occasions, the avowed advocates of *every* corrupt minister, and *every* corrupt measure; and either deny the being of any grievance, or, if any grievance is proved beyond the possibility of denial, call it a *necessary one*, and insist, that it is little less than sedition to apply for a remedy.

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R.

The following is an extract from an excellent speech made by *Henry, Earl of Warrington*, to the grand jury at *Chester*, April 13, 1692, which I believe is in very few hands, and may therefore be acceptable to your readers.

Your Friend, A. B.

IN every government there is some particular principle that runs through the whole scheme of that constitution; and as that principle is followed or neglected, so accordingly it goes well or ill with the public; that is, when those who are entrusted with the executive power, do pursue that principle, every thing moves regularly, and the government is firm and stable; but when they steer by any other measures, the state doth unavoidably fall into disorders and convulsions: so that whoever he be that is placed at the head of the government, if he desires to have the hearts and prayers of his people whilst he lives, and that after-ages shall bless his memory, it is necessary,

1. That, in general, he resolve to govern well; and,
2. Thoroughly and rightly to apprise himself of that principle that is the soul of the government; or at least, that he be advised by such as are most likely to know it, and will give him FAITHFUL counsel; otherwise he will be like a traveller, that in the night misses his way upon some large plain, wandering he knows not whither, and is more like to meet with some disaster, than to find his way.

Having said this, it is natural for you to expect that I should tell you, what that principle is, which is the life and foundation of this government.

If I am not much mistaken, and I am verily persuaded that here I am not, I take it to be this: 1. That every subject of *England* hath so clear a property in his life, goods, and estate, and every thing else which he lawfully possesses, that they, nor any of them, can be taken from him, nor ought he to be disturbed in the enjoyment of them, without his voluntary consent, or for some offence against the law. 2. And in the next place, That there be not a failure of justice; that is, that no man be left without remedy, where his right is concerned, and that every criminal be punished according to the demerits of his offence.

I am apt to believe, that every man will think, that this is very agreeable to natural reason; and then I do not

see,

See, how it can be inconsistent with the *prerogative* of the crown; though I know, that not very long since, and I fear yet, there are some who *carry the prerogative much higher than it ought*, in placing it *above the law*: but nothing, save the *iniquity of the times*, and the *depravity of such mens manners*, could support or give countenance to so senseless a thought; for they are very ignorant of the nature of *prerogative*, if they think it is a power to do *hurt*, and not to do *good*. Certainly the *king's prerogative* is to *help* and *relieve* the people, where the edge of the law is too *sharp* and *keen*, and not a power by which he may *oppress* and *destroy* his subjects. Men are to be governed by a power that is guided by *reason*, unless we can suppose that they have no more understanding, and are of no greater value, than the *beasts that perish*.

It was said by one, who was a very competent judge in the case, as I remember, it was Sir *John Fortescue*, "That it is a greater power in a prince to be restrained by law from oppressing, than to have an *absolute* regal power." And says another, "The way of governing must be both right and clear, as well as is the end; "and how this can be expected, when a king is guided by no other rule, than that of his unbounded *will* and *pleasure*, I do not see, any more than a man can depend upon the weather.

Do not all examples of it that ever were, prove, that *absolute power* and *oppression* are *inseparable*, and as naturally proceed the one from the other, as the effect doth from the cause? 'Tis a riddle to me, how that prince can be called *God's ordinance*, who assumes a power *above* what the law hath invested him with, and useth it to the *grieving* and *oppressing* of his subjects: May not the plague, famine, or sword, as well be called *God's ordinance*, since one, no less than the other, is sent by him for the punishment of that people whom he so visits?

I could run out into a large discourse upon this subject, but I will stop here, because I am persuaded, that what I have already said, is sufficient to convince any one, who is unprejudiced, That an *absolute power* is so far from being the *right* of the king of *England*, that the exercise of such a power is *unlawful* in any king.

I know very well, that, in the *late reigns*, this doctrine would not have been endured; to have said then less than this, would have cost a man his head: for whoever would not then comply with *arbitrary power*, was called a *factious man*, and an *opposer* of the government; but is it not nonsense, or very near a-kin to it, to call that *sedition*, that is for bringing things into order, and for maintaining the laws

and supporting the government? Arbitrary desires never did any king good, but have ruined many. It shook king *Charles the Second's* throne, and tumbled down his successor; and though *such kings* are left without excuse when ruined; yet I may say, they are not only in the fault, for their overthrow is in a great measure occasioned by those who *preach up*, and ADVISE the king to *arbitrary power*.

“ Did not other people cocker up, and cherish *arbitrary notions* in kings minds, though such conceptions might sometimes get into their heads, yet they would never fructify, nor come to perfection, if they were not cultivated by *parasites*, who make their court that way, in hopes to *raise themselves*, though with the hazard of their master's crown: as it befel the late king *James*, whose mal-administration rendered him unmeet to sway the scepter: and I am very well satisfied, that the judgment upon him was *just*; for unless a people are decreed to be *miserable*, which God Almighty will never do, (except thereto very highly provoked by their sins) *certainly he will never so tie up their hands, that they shall not be allowed to use them, when they have no other way to help themselves.*”

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An Account of the American Controversy, continued from page 144.

THE mail which arrived from New England on the first of October, brought the following petition, reported to the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts's bay, by a committee, and under consideration when the assembly was dissolved, (see p. 144.)

To his most excellent Majesty, &c.

“ WE, your majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the representatives of your ancient and loyal province of the Massachusetts's bay, impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude to heaven, for calling to the British succession your majesty's illustrious family, and so firmly establishing your majesty on the throne of your royal progenitors, and being abundantly convinced of your majesty's grace and clemency, most humbly implore the royal favour, while we briefly represent the grievances we labour under, and which, under God, your majesty can alone redress.

It is with inexpressible concern that we are constrained thus publicly to complain of the administration of his excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; your majesty's governor of this province, who has betrayed an arbitrary disposition.

He early attached himself to a party, whose principles and views, we apprehend, have ever been repugnant to your majesty's real service.

He has, both in his speeches, and other public acts, treated the representative body with contempt.

He has, in an unwarrantable manner, taken upon himself the exercise of your majesty's royal prerogative, in granting a charter for a college, without even the advice of your majesty's council.

He has openly attempted to make himself sole and absolute judge of the qualification of members, returned to serve in the house of representatives.

We have also reason to apprehend, that he has endeavoured to persuade your majesty's ministers to believe, that an intention was formed, and a plan settled, in this, and the rest of your colonies, treasonably to withdraw themselves from all connection with, and dependance upon, Great Britain, and from their natural allegiance to your majesty's sacred person and government.

He has, in his public speeches, charged both houses of assembly with oppugnation against the royal authority, and with leaving gentlemen out of the council only for their fidelity to the crown.

He has indiscretely, not to say wantonly, exercised the prerogative of the crown, in the repeated negative of counsellors of an unblemished reputation, and duly elected by a great majority of both houses of assembly.

He has declared, that certain seats at the council board shall be kept vacant, till certain gentlemen, his favourites, shall be re-elected.

He has, unconstitutionally, interfered with, and unduly influenced elections; particularly in the choice of an agent for the province.

He has, very abruptly, displaced divers gentlemen of worth, for no apparent reason but their voting against his measures.

He has practised the sending over depositions to the ministry, against gentlemen of character, here, without giving the accused the least notice of his purposes and proceeding.

He has created divers new and unconstitutional offices.

He has drawn divers warrants on the treasury, for the payment of monies, against the express appropriations of the assembly.

He has, at this session, presumed to threaten the general assembly, upon the non-compliance of the house of representatives with a certain requisition, not only to dissolve them, but to delay to call a new assembly, which is beyond your majesty's orders.

By the means aforesaid, and many others, that might be enumerated, he has not only rendered his administration disagreeable to the whole body of the people, but entirely alienated their affections from him; and thereby wholly destroyed that confidence in a governor, which your majesty's service indispensably requires.

Wherefore we most humbly intreat your majesty, that his excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; may be removed from the government of this province: and that your majesty would be graciously pleased to place one in his stead, worthy to represent the greatest and best monarch on earth.

And as in duty bound, we, &c. *shall ever pray.*"

Copy of the Agreement entered into by the inhabitants of Boston, the Capital of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

THE merchants and traders in the town of Boston, having taken into consideration the deplorable situation of their trade; and the many difficulties it at present labours under daily encreasing, for want of the proper remittances to discharge our debts in Great Britain, and the large sums collected by the officers of the customs for duties on goods imported; the heavy tax levied to discharge the debts contracted by the government in the late war; the embarrassments and restrictions laid on the trade by several acts of parliament, together with the bad success of our cod fishery this season, and the discouraging prospect of the whale fishery, by which our principal sources of remittance are like to be greatly diminished, and we thereby rendered unable to pay the debts we owe the merchants in Great Britain, and to continue the importation of goods from thence:

We the subscribers, in order to relieve the trade under these discouragements, to promote industry, frugality and oeconomy, and to discourage luxury, and every kind of extravagance, do promise and engage to and with each other as follows;

First,

First, That we will not send for or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account or upon commissions, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply.

Secondly, That we will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandize from Great Britain, either on our own account, or on commission, or any otherwise, from the first of January 1769, to the first of January 1770, except salt, coals, fish-hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar lead and shot, wool-cards and card-wire.

Thirdly, That we will not purchase of any factor, or others, any kind of goods imported from Great Britain from January 1769, to January 1770.

Fourthly, That we will not import, on our own account, or on commissions, or purchase of any, who shall import from any other colony in America, from January 1769, to January 1770, any tea, glass, paper, or other goods, commonly imported from Great Britain.

Fifthly, That we will not, from and after the 1st. of January 1769, import into this province any tea, paper, glass, or painters colours, until the act imposing duties on those articles should be repealed.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 1st. day of August 1768.

Remarks on the foregoing Resolutions.

THE last accounts from Boston inform us, that resolutions have been agreed to by the inhabitants of New England, not to import any British manufactures for one year, from the first of January next. These resolutions are equivalent to a prohibition, and intended to operate as such, and therefore the most natural return is a like prohibition of trade between Great Britain and the people of New England.

This is a method of making war without bloodshed; and let us enquire whether it might not be effectual for shewing these people their insignificancy: let an act of parliament take place the 1st. of next January, and continue in force so long as the people of New England adhere to their resolutions;

First, That no vessel, built in or belonging to New England, be admitted into any port of Great Britain, or other the dominions thereunto belonging, during a limited time.

Secondly, That no vessel belonging to New England be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, or in the gulph

gulph or river of St. Laurence, or any other the bays, creeks, rivers or seas, within the dominions, or appertaining to the territories of Great Britain.

Thirdly, That no lumber, provisions, or other products of New England, be permitted to be imported into any of the islands or territories belonging to Great Britain.

Fourthly, That no rum or other spirits, distilled in New England, be permitted to be sold to any British subject, either on the coast of Africa, or on the banks of Newfoundland, &c.

Fifthly, That no inhabitant of New England be permitted to trade with any Indians in alliance with the king of Great Britain, without the limits of the said country.

The effects of such a measure would be presently felt by these haughty colonists; and perhaps it would in the end prove highly advantageous to Great Britain; for in the first place it would oblige all the fishermen in that country to remove into the province of Nova Scotia, and the other obedient provinces; the ship builders would do the same; the distillers would follow them, and so would the Indian traders; Boston would soon dwindle into a poor, smuggling village, and Halifax and St. John's would rise upon its ruins. No trade would be lost to Great Britain by this remove, and an eternal monument would be erected to deter the colonies from ever venturing to provoke the mother country to cast them off: we should hear no more of their refusing to trade with her, or coming into resolutions not to import or use her manufactures.

B O S T O N, *September 19.*

At a meeting of the Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally qualified and warned in public Town-Meeting assembled, at Faneuil-Hall, on Monday the 12th of September, A. D. 1768.

The Meeting was opened with Prayer by the Reverend Dr. Cooper.

The Hon. James Otis, Esq; was unanimously chosen Moderator.

THE petition of a considerable number of the respectable inhabitants to the Selectmen, dated the 8th instant, praying, that the town might be forthwith legally convened, to enquire of his Excellency the Governor, the grounds and reasons of sundry declarations made by him, that three regiments may be daily expected, two of them to be quartered in this town, and one at Castle-William; as also,

also, to consider of the most wise, constitutional, loyal, and salutary measures to be adopted on such an occasion, was read,—whereupon the following vote was passed.

Whereas it has been reported in this town meeting, that his Excellency the Governor has intimated his apprehensions that one or more regiments of his Majesty's troops are daily to be expected here :

Voted, That the Hon. Tho. Cushing, Esq; Mr. Samuel Adams, Richard Dana, Esq; Benjamin Kent, Esq; and Dr. Joseph Warren, be a Committee to wait upon his Excellency, if in town, humbly requesting, that he would be pleased to communicate to the town, the grounds and assurances he may have thereof.

Upon a motion made and seconded,

Voted, That the following petition be presented to his Excellency the Governor,—and a Committee was appointed for that purpose, who were directed humbly to request his Excellency to favour the town with an immediate answer.

To his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; Governor, &c.

May it please your Excellency,

The inhabitants of the town of Boston legally assembled, taking into consideration the critical state of the public affairs, more especially the present precarious situation of our invaluable rights and privileges, civil and religious, most humbly request that your Excellency would be pleased forthwith to issue precepts for a general assembly, to be convened with the utmost speed, in order that such measures may be taken, as in their wisdom they may think proper, for the preservation of our said rights and privileges.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, &c.

Upon a motion made and seconded, a Committee was appointed to take the state of our public affairs into consideration, and report at the adjournment the measures they apprehend most salutary to be taken in the present emergency.

Adjourned till the next day, ten o'clock, A. M.

Tuesday, the 3th of September, ten o'clock, A. M. met accordingly.

The Committee appointed yesterday to wait upon his Excellency with the petition and request of the town, reported from his Excellency the following answer in writing.

Gentlemen,

• My apprehensions that some of his Majesty's troops are
• to be expected in Boston, arise from information of a pri-
• vate nature : I have received no public letters, notifying to
• me the coming of such troops, and requiring quarters for
• them.

‘ them ; whenever I do, I shall communicate them to his Majesty’s council:’

‘ The business of calling another assembly for this year, is now before the King ; and I can do nothing in it, until I receive his Majesty’s commands.’ FRA. BERNARD.

The Committee appointed to take the state of our public affairs into consideration, reported the following declaration and resolves.

Whereas it is the first principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, That no law of the society can be binding on any individual, without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his representative, of his own free election :

And whereas in and by an act of the British parliament, passed in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, of glorious and blessed memory, entitled, An Act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown ; the preamble of which Act is in these words, viz. ‘ Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom ;’ It is expressly, among other things, declared, That the levying money for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for a longer time, or in other manner than the same is granted, is illegal :

And whereas in the third year of the reign of the same King William and Queen Mary, their Majesties were graciously pleased, by their royal charter, to give and grant to the inhabitants of this his Majesty’s province, all the territory therein described, to be holden in free and common soccage : And also to ordain and grant to the said inhabitants certain rights, liberties, and privileges therein expressly mentioned : Among which it is granted, established, and ordained, That all and every the subjects of them, their heirs and successors, which shall go to inhabit within the said province and territory, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born there, or on the seas in going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of the dominions of them, their heirs and successors, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England :

And whereas by the aforesaid act of parliament made in the first year of the said King William and Queen Mary, **AM** and singular the premises contained therein, are claimed, demanded,

manded, and insisted on, as the undoubted rights and liberties of the subjects born within the realm :

And whereas the freeholders and other inhabitants of this town, the metropolis of the province, in said charter mentioned, do hold all the rights and liberties therein contained to be sacred and inviolable : at the same time publicly and solemnly acknowledging their firm and unshaken allegiance to their alone rightful Sovereign, King George the Third, the lawful successor of the said King William and Queen Mary to the British throne : therefore,

Resolved, That the said freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend and maintain the person, family, crown, and dignity of our said rightful Sovereign Lord George the Third, and all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in the said royal charter, as well those which are declared to be belonging to us as British subjects by birth-right, as all others therein specially mentioned.

And whereas by the said royal charter it is specially granted to the great and general Court or Assembly therein constituted to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates and taxes upon the estates and persons of all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of the said province or territory, for the service of the King, in the necessary defence and support of his government of the province, and the protection and preservation of his subjects therein : therefore,

Voted, As the opinion of this town, that the levying money within this province for the use and service of the crown, in other manner than the same is granted by the great and general Court or Assembly of this Province, is in violation of the said royal charter; and the same is also in violation of the undoubted natural rights of subjects, declared in the aforesaid act of parliament; freely to give and grant their own money for the service of the crown, with their own consent, in person, or by representatives of their own free election.

And whereas in the aforesaid act of parliament it is declared, that the raising or keeping a standing army, within the kingdom in time of peace; unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law : It is the opinion of this town, that the said declarations are founded in the indefeasible right of the subjects to be consulted, and to give their free consent in person, or by representatives of their own free election, to the raising and keeping a standing army among them ; and the inhabitants of this town, being free subjects, have the same right, derived from nature, and confirmed by the British

constitution, as well as the said royal charter; and therefore the raising or keeping a standing army, without their consent, in person or by representatives of their own free election, would be an infringement of their natural, constitutional and charter rights; and the employing such army for the enforcing of laws made without the consent of the people, in person, or by their representatives, would be a grievance.

The foregoing report being divers times distinctly read, and considered by the town: The question was put, whether the same shall be accepted and recorded? and passed unanimously in the affirmative.

Upon a motion made and seconded, the following vote was unanimously passed, viz.

Whereas by an act of parliament of the first of King William and Queen Mary, it is declared, that for the redress of all grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently, and inasmuch as it is the opinion of this town, that the people labour under many intolerable grievances, which, unless speedily redressed, threaten the total destruction of our invaluable, natural, constitutional, and charter rights.

And furthermore, as his Excellency the Governor has declared himself unable, at the request of this town, to call a general Court, which is the assembly of the States of this Province, for the redress of such grievances:

Voted, That this town will now make choice of a suitable number of persons to act for them, as a committee, in convention with such as may be sent to join them from the several towns in this province, in order that such measures may be consulted and advised, as his Majesty's service, and the peace and safety of the subjects in the province may require.

Whereupon the Hon. James Otis, Esq; Hon. Tho. Cushing, Esq; Mr. Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, Esq; were appointed a committee for the said purpose; the town hereafter to take into consideration what recompence shall be made them for the services they may perform.

Voted, That the Selectmen be directed to write to the Selectmen of the several towns within this province, informing them of the foregoing vote; and to propose, that a convention be held, if they shall think proper, at Faneuil-Hall in this town, on Thursday the 22d of September inst, at ten o'clock before noon.

Upon a motion made and seconded, the following vote was passed by a very great majority, viz.

Whereas by an act of parliament of the first of King William and Queen Mary, it is declared, That the subjects being
Pro-

Protestants, may have arms for their defence: It is the opinion of this town, that the said declaration is founded in nature, reason, and sound policy, and is well adapted for the necessary defence of the community.

And forasmuch, as by a good and wholesome law of this province, every listed soldier and other householder (except troopers, who by law are otherwise to be provided) shall be always provided with a well-fixed firelock, musket, accoutrements and ammunition, as is in said law particularly mentioned, to the satisfaction of the commission-officers of the company: And as there is at this time a prevailing apprehension in the minds of many, of an approaching war with France, in order that the inhabitants of this town may be prepared in case of sudden danger: *Voted*, That those of the said inhabitants, who may at present be unprovided, be, and hereby are requested duly to observe the said law at this time.

The hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq; communicated to the town, a letter received from a Committee of the Merchants in the city of New-York, acquainting him with their agreement relative to a non-importation of British goods:—Whereupon the town, by a vote, expressed their highest satisfaction therein.

The town taking into serious consideration the present aspect of their public affairs, and being of opinion that it greatly behoves a people, professing godliness, to address the Supreme Ruler of the world, on all important occasions, for that wisdom which is profitable to direct:

Voted unanimously, That the Selectmen be a Committee to wait on the several Ministers of the Gospel within this town, desiring that the next Tuesday may be set apart as a day of fasting and prayer.

Ordered, That the votes and proceedings of the town, in their present meeting, be published in the several newspapers.

The town voted their thanks to the Moderator, for his good services, and then the meeting was dissolved. Attest

WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

The following is a copy of the circular letter, written by the Selectmen of this town, and directed to the Selectmen of the several towns within this province, agreeable to a vote at a meeting on the 13th instant.

Gentlemen,

Boston, Sept. 14, 1768.

You are already too well acquainted with the melancholy and very alarming circumstances to which this province, as well as America in general, is now reduced. Taxes equally detrimental to the commercial interests of the parent country

and her colonies, are imposed upon the people, without their consent: Taxes designed for the support of the civil government in the colonies, in a manner clearly unconstitutional, and contrary to that, in which, till of late, government has been supported, by the free gift of the people in the American assemblies or parliaments; as also for the maintenance of a large standing army; not for the defence of the newly-acquired territories, but for the old colonies, and in a time of peace. The decent, humble, and truly loyal applications and petitions from the representatives of this province, for the redress of these heavy and very threatening grievances, have hitherto been ineffectual; being assured, from authentic intelligence, that they have not yet reached the royal ear: The only effect of transmitting these applications hitherto perceivable, has been a mandate from one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State to the Governor of this province, to dissolve the general assembly, merely because the late house of representatives refused to rescind a resolution of a former house, which implied nothing more than a right in the American subjects to unite in humble and dutiful petitions to their gracious Sovereign, when they found themselves aggrieved; This is a right naturally inherent in every man, and expressly recognized at the glorious revolution as the birth-right of an Englishman.

This dissolution you are sensible has taken place; the Governor has publicly and repeatedly declared, that he cannot call another assembly: and the Secretary of State for the American department, in one of his letters communicated to the late house, has been pleased to say, "Proper care will be taken for the support of the dignity of government;" the meaning of which is too plain to be misunderstood.

The concern and perplexity into which these things have thrown the people, have been greatly aggravated, by a declaration of his Excellency Governor Bernard, that one or more regiments may soon be expected in this province.

The design of these troops is, in every one's apprehension, nothing short of enforcing, by military power, the execution of acts of parliament, in the forming of which, the colonies have not, and cannot have any constitutional influence. This is one of the greatest distresses to which a free people can be reduced.

The town which we have the honour to serve, have taken these things at their late meeting into their most serious consideration: And as there is in the minds of many, a prevailing apprehension of an approaching war with France, they have passed the several votes, which we transmit to you, desiring that

that they may be immediately laid before the town, whose prudentials are in your care, at a legal meeting, for their candid and particular attention.

Deprived of the counsels of a General Assembly, in this dark and difficult season, the loyal people of this Province will, we are persuaded, immediately perceive the propriety and utility of the proposed Committee of Convention; and the sound and wholesome advice that may be expected from a number of gentlemen, chosen by themselves, and in whom they may repose the greatest confidence, must tend to the real service of our gracious Sovereign, and the welfare of his subjects in this Province, and may happily prevent any sudden and unconnected measures, which in their present anxiety, and even agony of mind, they may be in danger of falling into.

As it is of importance that the Convention should meet as soon as may be, so early a day as the 22d of this instant September has been proposed for that purpose—and it is hoped the remotest towns will by that time, or as soon after as conveniently may be, return their respective Committees.

Not doubting but that you are equally concerned with us and our fellow-citizens, for the preservation of our invaluable rights, and for the general happiness of our country, and that you are disposed with equal ardour to exert yourselves in every constitutional way for so glorious a purpose.

Signed by the Select-Men.

Boston, Sept. 19. This day the governor informed the council that two regiments were ordered here from Halifax, and would arrive in a few days, and also laid before them a letter from the Earl of Hillsborough, containing advice that two were likewise ordered from Ireland.

Boston, Sept. 26. The following are the transactions of the committees from sixty six towns, and two districts of the province of Massachusetts's bay, convened in Boston, Sept. 22, 1768.

Message to the GOVERNOR.

May it please your Excellency,

The committee chosen by the several towns in this province, and now convened in Boston, to consult and advise such measures as may most effectually promote the peace and good order of his majesty's subjects in this government, at this very dark and distressing time, take the earliest opportunity, openly to disclaim all pretence to any authoritative or governmental acts:

acts : Nevertheless as we freely and voluntarily come from the different parts of the province, at the earnest desire of the inhabitants, and must be supposed to be well acquainted with their prevailing temper, inclinations and sentiments, under the present threatening aspect of our public affairs, we think ourselves indispensably obliged, from a sense of duty to his majesty, to whom we and the people of this province bear the firmest allegiance, and from the tenderest concern for the welfare of his subjects, with all due respect to your excellency, to declare our apprehension of the absolute necessity of a general assembly.

If ever this people needed the direction, the care and support of such an assembly, we are humbly of opinion that their present circumstances immediately require it:

Your excellency cannot be insensible of their universal uneasiness, arising from the grievances occasioned by the late acts of parliament for an American revenue; from authentic information that the dutiful and loyal petition of the late house of representatives has not been allowed to reach the presence of our gracious king; from the dissolution of the late general assembly; from undoubted advice that the enemies of Britain and the colonies are still unwearied in the most gross misrepresentations of the people of this province to his majesty's ministers, as being on the eve of a general insurrection; and from the alarming intelligence that the nation by means of such misrepresentations is incensed to a high degree, so that it is generally apprehended that a standing army is immediately to be introduced among the people, contrary, as we apprehend, to the bill of rights—a force represented to be sufficient to over-awe and controul the whole civil power of the province, which must render every right and possession dreadfully precarious.

From these weighty considerations, and also that the people may not be thrown into a total despair; that they may have a fresh opportunity at the next meeting of the parliament of taking off the impression from the minds of the nation, made by such misrepresentations as are before mentioned; and by that means preventing the most unhappy consequences to the parent country, as well as ourselves, we beg leave most earnestly to pray that your excellency would commiserate his majesty's truly loyal subjects of this province, under their deplorable circumstances, and restore to them the full possession of their invaluable charter rights to a general Assembly, and cause one to be immediately convened, that the most effectual measures may be taken in the manner prescribed by our happy constitution for the redress of grievances, for the preventing

venting an unconstitutional encroachment of military power on the civil establishment, for the promoting the prosperity of his majesty's government, and the peace, good order, and due submission of his subjects in the province, and making the necessary provision for the support of government, and finally, for the restoration of that harmony, union, and affection between the nation and the colonies, which appears to us to be in the utmost danger of being totally and irrecoverably lost. As in duty bound the committee shall ever pray,

In the name and behalf of the committee,

THO. CUSHING, *Chairman.*

By his excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; Governor in Chief of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, &c.

To the Gentlemen assembled at Faneuil, under the name of a committee of Convention,

As I have lately received from his majesty strict orders to support his constitutional authority within this government, I cannot sit still and see so notorious a violation of it, as the calling an assembly of the people by private persons only. For a meeting of the deputies of the towns is an assembly of the representatives of the people to all intents and purposes; and it is not the calling it a committee of convention that will alter the nature of the thing.

I am willing to believe that the gentlemen who so hastily issued the summons for this meeting, were not aware of the high nature of the offence they were committing; and they who have obeyed them have not well considered of the penalties which they will incur if they should persist in continuing their session, and doing business therein. At present ignorance of the law may excuse what is past; a step further will take away that plea.

It is therefore my duty to interpose at this instant, before it is too late. I do therefore earnestly admonish you that instantly, and before you do any business, you break up this assembly, and separate yourselves. I speak to you now as a friend to the province, and a well-wisher to the individuals of it.

But if you should pay no regard to this admonition, I must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a most public manner. For assure yourselves, (I speak from instruction) the king is determined to maintain his entire sovereignty over this province; and whoever shall persist in usurping any of the rights of it, will repent of his rashness.

Province-house, Sept. 22, 1768.

FRA. BERNARD,

Message

Message to the GOVERNOR.

May it please your excellency,

The committee from a number of towns in this province, now convened at Faneuil-hall, having received from your excellency a message, containing a remonstrance against our thus meeting, and an admonition to break up and separate ourselves instantly, and before we do any business, have taken the same into our serious and attentive consideration; and we assure your excellency, that though according to the best of our abilities, we have considered the matters that are hinted by your excellency as the foundation of your message, yet we are not able to collect sufficient information therefrom to place our present meeting and proceedings in the same light in which they seem to lie in your excellency's mind. We do assure your excellency most freely, that neither the views of our constituents in sending us, nor the design of any of us in this meeting, was to do, propose, or consent to any thing oppugnant to, or inconsistent with, the regular execution of government in this his majesty's province; and that though the letters from the select men of Boston, to the respective towns from which they came, might first give rise to our being chosen and sent; yet that neither the said letter from the select men of Boston, nor any votes of the said town accompanying the same, were considered by our respective towns in the choosing, nor by us in our assembling, as the foundation and warrant of our convening. But may it please your excellency, being assured, that our constituents as well as ourselves, have the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of our rightful sovereign king GEORGE the third, we beg leave to explain to your excellency the real cause and intention of our thus convening.

Your excellency cannot be unacquainted with the many difficulties under which his majesty's subjects on the whole continent of America apprehend themselves to labour, and of the uneasiness which the subjects in this province have repeatedly expressed on the same account. The minds of the people who have sent us, are greatly disturbed that the humble and dutiful petition of their representatives for the removal of those difficulties has not been permitted to reach the royal ear; and they are greatly agitated with the expectation of a standing army being posted among us, and of the full exertion of a military government; alarmed with these apprehensions, and deprived of a house of representatives, their attention is too much taken off from their daily occupations; their moral and industry

Industry are in danger of being damaged, and their peaceable behaviour disturbed for want of such persons as they can confide in, to advise them in these matters, and to make application for their redress.

Your excellency will further naturally conceive that those of his majesty's subjects who live remote from Boston, the center of their intelligence, and whose occupations do not admit of much knowledge of public affairs, are subjected to many misrepresentations of their public concerns; and those generally of a most aggravated kind; nor is it in the power of the most knowing persons amongst us to wipe off the pernicious effects of such rumours, without the appearance of a public enquiry.

Induced by these motives, and others of the same kind, our constituents thought it no ways inconsistent with good order and regular government, to send committee-men to meet with such committees as might be sent from the several towns in the province, to confer upon these matters, and to learn the certainty of those rumours prevailing amongst us, and to consult and advise as far as comes legally within their power on such measures as would have the greatest tendency to preserve the peace and good order among his majesty's subjects, and to promote their due submission; and at the same time to consult the most regular and dutiful manner of laying our grievances before our most gracious sovereign, and obtaining a redress of the same. This we assure your excellency is the only cause and intention of our thus convening; and we are sorry it should be viewed by your excellency in that obnoxious light.

Your Excellency may be assured, that had our constituents conceived, or did their committee thus convened, conceive this proceeding to be illegal, they had never sent us, nor should we pretend to continue our convention: but as your Excellency in the message with which you have been pleased to favour us, has not been so explicit in pointing out the criminality of our present proceeding as we could have wished, but has left us to our own judgment and understanding, to search it out, we would with all duty to your excellency, as the representative of our rightful sovereign, request of your Excellency to point out to us wherein the criminality of our proceedings consists, being assured we cautiously mean to avoid every thing that has the least appearance of usurpation of government, in any of its branches, or any of the rights of his majesty's sovereignty, or that is in the least incentive of rebellion, or even a mental disaffection to the government by law established and exercised.

Your Excellency will be pleased, in your well known knowledge of human nature, and the delicacy of British privileges, to be sparing of your frowns on our present proceeding, we being at present inclined to think, till better informed, that if criminality be imputed to us, it will be applied only to our doings, and not to the professed manner and design of our meeting; but if your excellency has a different apprehension of the matter, we intreat an explanation of the same, and assure your Excellency we shall deliberately attend to it. Nothing could give us more uneasiness than a suggestion that our proceedings are criminal; not so much from a fear of personal punishment, as from a fixed aversion we have to any thing inconsistent with the dignity of our sovereign, and the happiness of his extended dominion; and we flatter ourselves that when the real design of this convention is understood, it will prove an argument to evince the entire loyalty of his majesty's subjects in this province, and their disposition to peace and good order.

In the name and behalf of the committee of a number of towns in this province, convened in Boston, September 24, 1768.

THO. CUSHING, *Chairman.*

Governor Bernard declined receiving the above message in the following words:

Gentlemen,

"You must excuse me from receiving a message from that assembly which is called a committee of convention; for that would be to admit it to be a legal assembly, which I can by no means allow."

Council-Chamber, Boston, Sept. 26. This Morning the Council met and agreed to the following Answer to Governor Bernard's Proposal for the Accommodation of the Troops, in consequence of Letters received by his Excellency from General Gage:

THE board have taken into their further consideration Gen. Gage's Letter, and the extract from lord Hillsborough's letter communicated by his Excellency on the 19th. instant, relative to the reception and accommodation of the troops in the said letter and extract mentioned, and have also considered his excellency's proposal of the 22d inst. relating to the manufactory-house, in Boston, that they would authorize him to take measures for fitting up the said building for the reception of so many of the said troops as it will conveniently accommodate. They have also attentively considered the act of parliament, providing among other things for the quartering

quartering and billeting the said troops, and they find that the civil officers in the said act mentioned, and no others, are thereby empowered and "required to quarter and billet the officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in the barracks provided in the colonies; and if there shall not be sufficient room in the said barracks for officers and soldiers, *then and in such case only* to quarter and billet the residue" of them in such manner as in the said act is further and very particularly directed. Now it appears by this paragraph of the said act, that in any colony where there are barracks, the said officers and soldiers in his majesty's service shall be quartered and billeted in such barracks, and in no other place, unless there shall not be sufficient room in the barracks. With respect to this colony, the government of it in the beginning of the late war by their order caused barracks to be built at Castle-William, for the very purpose of accommodating his majesty's troops whenever it should be necessary for them to come hither; under which order the governor and council are authorized to provide quarters in the said barracks for such troops; and those barracks are sufficient to accommodate about 2000 men, which number it is said the two regiments ordered from Halifax will not exceed: Those regiments therefore which are the first expected, the said act of parliament requires to be quartered in the said barracks.

Gen. Gage however in his letter aforesaid mentions that one of the said regiments is ordered for the present to Castle-William, the other to the town of Boston: but it will be no disrespect to the General to say that no order whatever coming from a less authority than his majesty and parliament, can supersede an act of parliament. And it is plain the general had no intention that the said order should, as he concludes his letter by desiring the governor to see that the said troops are provided with quarters on their arrival in this government as by law directed. The said act also provides, "that if any military officer shall take upon himself to quarter soldiers in any of his majesty's dominions in America, otherwise than as limited and allowed by this act, or shall use or offer any menace or compulsion," &c. he shall be, "*ipso facto* cashiered, and be utterly disabled to have or to hold any military employment in his majesty's service." His Excellency therefore as the board apprehend, must clearly see by examining the said act that it is not in the power of the board to provide quarters for the said regiments as destined, till the barracks at Castle-William and the inns, livery-stables and other houses, mentioned in the said act, shall be full; in which "and no other case, and upon no other account it shall

and may be lawful for the governor and council" to take the measures they are directed to by the said act for the reception of his majesty's forces) nor of consequence to authorize his Excellency to take measures for fitting up the manufactory-house agreeable to his proposal.

The quartering of troops in the body of the town, before the barracks are full, is not only contrary to the act of parliament, but would be inconsistent with the peace of the town, whose peace and welfare, as also the peace and welfare of the province in general, it is the duty, interest and inclination of the board to promote, and which in every way consistent with law they will endeavour to promote to the utmost of their ability.

As the board on the 19th. instant, when the letters above mentioned were first communicated to them, advised that his Excellency give proper orders for the accommodation of one of the Halifax regiments in the barracks at Castle-William, so they now further advise that his Excellency give like orders for the accommodation of the other Halifax regiment in the said barracks.

With regard to the two regiments ordered from Ireland to Boston, the board doubt not that provision will be made for their accommodation agreeable to the act aforesaid.

That the board might be better able to give their advice in regard to the regiments ordered hither, they thought it necessary that the whole of lord Hillsborough's letter so far as it related to the said regiments, and to the occasion and design of their coming, should be communicated to them, and they accordingly desired his Excellency to communicate it. But though his Excellency was pleased to tell them he should very probably lay the whole of it before the board in such parcels and at such times as he thought proper, yet as they apprehend the propriety of their own conduct in a great measure depends on the communication of the whole of it together, they again request his Excellency to favour them with it.

With regard to the occasion of the said regiments being ordered to Boston, his Excellency on being asked, informed the board that he apprehended the Halifax regiments were ordered hither in consequence of the riots in March last, and the two Irish regiments in consequence of that of the 10th. of June last. On which the board are obliged to observe that they are fully persuaded his majesty's ministers could never have judged it either necessary or expedient to go into such extraordinary measures as those of sending troops hither, unless in the representations made from hence by some ill-minded persons, the said riots had been greatly magnified and exaggerated.

With

With respect to what happened on the 18th of March, which was a day of rejoicing, and on such days disorders are not uncommon in populous places, it was too inconsiderable to make it a subject of representation, and could not have been made the subject of so injurious an one but by persons disposed to bring misery and distress upon the town and province.

In regard to the riot of the 10th of June, of which the board have repeatedly expressed their abhorrence and have advised that the perpetrators of it should be prosecuted by the attorney-general, the board have in their answer to his Excellency's representation laid before them the 27th. of July last, given a just account of the occasion of that riot; and as they apprehend it necessary that the said account, together with all the proceedings at that time should be made publick, they again desire his Excellency will order the said representation and answer to be printed as soon as may be in the public news-papers.

From the BOSTON (New England) GAZETTE of October 3.

The result of the conferences and consultations of the committees chosen by ninety-six towns and eight districts, convened at Boston on the 22d of September, is in substance as follows:

“ The committees considering themselves only as so many private fellow-subjects, convened from divers towns, at the request of their inhabitants, have made known to each other the loyal and dutiful disposition of the same, and their desire that no irregular steps should be taken by the people, but that all constitutional and prudential methods should be closely attended to, for the redress of their grievances; and the said committees, in pursuance of the pacifick intention of their meeting, have considered that the gracious attention of his most sacred majesty to the cause and grounds of our complaints, is the only regular source of relief from our present distresses; and that the house of representatives in February last did prefer such a petition to his sacred majesty as by them was thought best adapted to obtain relief; and at the same time did write letters to divers noble lords, and others, to intreat their attention to our publick difficulties: which petition to his majesty we are in hopes has before this time reached the royal presence, and will ere long have the desired effect. And as we cannot but still entertain the hopes that his Excellency our governor, will soon think fit to call a house of representatives, who may, if they see occasion therefore, prefer further petitions to his majesty for our redress, we are therefore humbly of opinion, that though the present appearance of our publick affairs is alarming and distressing, yet

yet that the common cause of obtaining the redress of the heavy grievances under which we labour, will be best served by a firm adherence to the principles of the constitution, and a close attention to the peace and good order of society.

“ And considering the dreadful consequences of tumult and disorder, we think it our duty, as friends to our common cause, to give our free and sincere advice, not in an authoritative, but merely in a friendly manner, that we should all of us compose our minds, and avoid any undue expressions of resentment, &c. into which our present calamities may betray us; and to attend with all due patience, the result of his majesty’s wisdom and clemency, from whence we reasonably expect to receive our much desired relief. And it is our firm resolution, in our several stations, at all times, to yield every possible assistance to the civil magistrate, in the suppression of riots and tumults, and in preserving the peace; being humbly of opinion, that the *posse comitatus*, when legally called in aid of the civil power, will ever be sufficient to restrain all orders of men within the bounds of the law, and the limits of the constitution. We from the bottom of our hearts not only disclaim and detest all pretences of “usurping” any of the “rights of sovereignty,” but also of arrogating to ourselves any the least authority whatever. We clearly hold, and whenever lawfully called thereunto, will at the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes maintain, that the “sovereignty” of his most sacred majesty *king George the third* is already “entire” in all parts of the widely extended and still happily spreading British empire.

“ We have been taught, that it is the duty of all men incessantly to implore the throne of heavenly grace, and have but lately heard there are those who deem it criminal for aggrieved fellow-subjects to join in humble, dutiful, and loyal supplications to their monarch. While the people wisely observe the medium between an abject submission, and a slavish stupidity, under grievous oppression on the one hand, and irrational attempts to obtain redress on the other, and steadily persevere in orderly and constitutional applications, for the recovering the exercise of their just rights and liberties, they may promise themselves success.”

Thursday last the convention, having finished their business, dispersed.

The inhabitants of the town of Hatfield, unanimously resolved not to send any person to the committee of convention, as required by a letter from the selectmen of the town of Boston; and sent them a spirited answer containing the reasons of their refusal.

On Wednesday morning arrived here from Halifax, the Launceston of 40 guns; the Mermaid, 28; Glasgow, 20; the Beaver, 14; Senegal, 14; and Bonetta, 10; and two armed schooners: they left Halifax the 19th instant, and have brought the 14th regiment, under the command of Col. Dalrymple, and the 29th regiment under lieut. col. Carr, in all 1000 men. Col. Dalrymple commands in chief the land forces and Capt. Smith the ships of war. These two regiments landed on Saturday last.

There are barracks at the castle within the limits of this town, sufficient in the judgment of his majesty's council, who were unanimous in their opinion, to receive both the regiments arrived here, and lodge them comfortably: But the g— thinks it is necessary that they should be quartered among the inhabitants; the sensible part of the people see no reason for a step so disagreeable and dangerous, unless barely to gratify the commissioners of the customs, who it seems are tired of their chosen residence at the castle, and think they have made themselves so obnoxious to the inhabitants, as to render their residence in the town hazardous, without a thousand men to protect them. His majesty's affairs in the mean time do not seem to be affected at all in this struggle, for the revenue which has never been interrupted is paid with as much punctuality while they are at the castle as if they were in the body of the town. One of the regiments is encamped on the common near the center of the town: the other being unprovided with quarters before their landing, and not having their tents on shore, and the commanding officer who knows his duty, being, it is presumed, sensible, that quarters could not, by act of parliament, be demanded even in public houses while the barracks at the castle remained empty, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade the families living in the manufactory-house to remove, in which case they would have had no where to go, but into the street, he marched the regiment at sun-set to Faneuil-hall: here they halted several hours, but it is said could not obtain liberty of the select men of the town to enter; however, they finally took possession.

With the 14th and 29th regiments, came part of the 59th regiment, and a company of the train of artillery. The ships of war were ranged round the north-east part of the town and came to anchor, viz. Mermaid, Romney, Launceston, Glasgow, Beaver, Senegal, Martin, and Bonetta; and the armed schooners, Hope, St. John, Lawrence, and Magdalene.

376 POLITICAL BAROMETER.

Fourth LETTER from ATTICUS, (See page 307.)

Nov. 14, 1768.

WHEN I foretold the approach of a foreign war, the certainty of a rupture with the colonies, and the decline of public credit, my opinion was chiefly founded on the character, circumstances, and abilities of the present administration. Fortune has but little share in the events most interesting to mankind. Individuals perish by their own imprudence, and the ruin of an empire is no more than the misconduct of a minister or a king. Without the credit of personal reputation, divided as a ministry, and unsupported by talents or experience, his m——y's servants had left the field of national calamity wide open to prediction. It seems they were determined to accomplish more than even their enemies had foretold. For my own part, I am not personally their enemy, and I could have wished that their conduct had not made the name of friend to the ministry irreconcilable with that of friend to Great Britain.

The most contemptible character in private life, and the most ruinous to private fortunes, is that, which possesses neither judgment nor inclination to do right, nor resolution enough to be consistent in doing wrong. Such a man loses all the credit of firmness and uniformity, and suffers the whole reproach of weak or malicious intentions. In politics, there is no other ministerial character so pernicious to the honour of a prince, or so fatal to the welfare of a nation. It is of the highest importance to enquire, whether the present ministry deserve it.

The name of lord Ch——m's administration was soon lost in that of the duke of G——n. His grace took the lead, and made himself answerable for the measures of a council; at which he was supposed to preside. He had gone as far as any man in support of Mr. Pitt's doctrine, *That parliament had no right to lay a tax upon America, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue.* It was a doctrine on which lord Ch——m, and the Ch——r formed their administration, and his grace had concurred in it *with all his sincerity.* Yet the first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since thrown the whole continent into a flame. A wise man would have let the question drop; a good man would have felt and adhered to the principles he professed. While the gentle C——y breathed into his ear, he was all lenity and moderation. The colonies were dutiful children, and Great Britain a severe parent. A combination to ruin this country was no more than an amicable agreement, and rebellion was a natural right confirmed by the revolution.

But

But now it seems his grace's opinions are altered with his connections. *The measures of the colonies are subversive of the constitution; they manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence,* and vigorous measures must be enforced at the point of the sword. In vain may we look for the temper and firmness of a great minister;—we shall find nothing but the passion or weakness of a boy;—the enervated languor of a consumption, or the false strength of a delirium.

The same inconstitence will be found to prevail through every measure and operation of government. Perhaps there may be discovered something more than supineness in the first neglect of Corsica, and something worse than inconstitence in the contradiction given to lord Rochfort's spirited declaration to the court of France. His grace has lately adopted the opposite extreme, and scruples not to give an alarming shock to public credit, by hints little short of a declaration of war. What is this but the undetermined timidity of a coward, who trembles on the brink, until he plunges headlong into the stream?

In one gazette we see Sir Jeffery Amherst dismissed; in the very next, we see him restored, and both without reason or decency. The peerage, which had been absolutely refused, is granted, and as in the first instance the r—y—l faith was violated, in the second the r—y—l dignity is betrayed. But this perhaps is a compliment to the duke's new friendship with the earl of H—h.

Without approving of Mr. Wilkes's conduct, I lament his fate. The duke of G—n, who contributed to his support abroad, has given the mandate for his expulsion. But I trust there is yet a spirit, which will not obey such mandates. This honourable enterprize will probably be defeated, and leave the author of it nothing but a distinguished excess of infamy, the last consolation of a profligate mind.

Is it possible, sir, that such a ministry can long remain united, or support themselves if they were united? The duke of G—n, it is true, has no scruple nor delicacy in the choice of his measures. They are the measures of the day, and vary as often as the weather. But his companions had each their separate plan, to which, for the credit of government, and the benefit of this country, they have severally adhered. The intrepid thoughtless spirit of the C—r in Ch— looks no farther than to the disposal of commissions. He is the friend and patron of the military. With this character he suffers the army to be robbed of a regiment, by way of pension to the noble disinterested house of P—y; and Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed without pretending to the

credit of restoring him. His lordship's conduct perplexes me. I am at a loss which to admire most; the penetrating sagacity, with which he understands the rights of the army, or the firmness with which he defends them.

When an ungracious act was to be done, the earl of H——h was chosen for the instrument of it. He deserved, since he submitted to bear, the whole reproach of Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismissal. The gallant knight obtains his price, and the noble earl, with whatever appetite, must meet him, with a smile of congratulation, and *dear Sir Jeffery, I most cordially wish you joy!* After all, it must be confessed, there are some mortifications which might touch even the callous spirit of a courtier.

The chancellor of the ex——r has many deficiencies to make good besides those of land and malt; and to say the truth, he has a gallant way of doing it. He gallops bravely through thick and thin, as the court directs, and I dare say would defend even an honest cause with as much zeal and eloquence, as if he were ordered to shew his parts upon *nul-tum-tempus*, or a Cumberland election.

It would be unjust to the duke of B——'s friends to attribute their conduct to any but the motives which they themselves profess. Mr. R——y is so modest a man, that the imputation of public virtue, or private good faith, would offend his delicacy, if he did not feel, as he certainly does, the genuine emotions of patriotism and friendship warm in his breast. They argued not ill for ambition, while they asked for nothing but profit; and when the duke of G——n has exhausted the treasury, he will find that every other power departs with the power of giving.

In this and my former letters I have presented to you, with plainness and sincerity, the melancholy condition, to which we are reduced. The characters of a weak and worthless ministry would hardly deserve the attention of history, but that they are fatally united, and must be recorded with the misfortunes of their country.

If there be yet a spark of virtue left among us, this great nation shall not be sacrificed to the fluctuating interests, or wayward passions of a minister, nor even to the caprices ***** If there be no virtue left, it is no matter who are ministers, nor how soon they accomplish our destruction.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

ATTICUS.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of
MIDDLESEX.

GENTLEMEN,

I Cannot suppress the emotions of a grateful heart. I must pay you my best tribute of thanks for the many proofs of a noble and generous friendship, which you have continued to me in this prison now for above six months. I will not lament my past sufferings, nor even a harsh and cruel sentence, because I find that your favour and protection are extended to me in proportion to the encrease of the persecutions I undergo. Every day gives a fresh mark of your kindness and affection; I trust that I may add likewise, my firmness in the cause, as well as steady attachment to my friends, the supporters of freedom, and the constitution of our native country.

The parliament being summon'd to meet the next week for the dispatch of business, I think it my duty to submit to you the particulars of my future conduct. I mean to petition the *house of commons* as the grand inquest of the nation, in the full hope of a redress of all my grievances, which have arisen from various acts of arbitrary power exerted by the ministers, the illegalities respecting the two trials, and especially the alteration of the records. I have already lodged an appeal against the two sentences before the *house of lords*, as the supreme judicature of this kingdom, and I shall bring before their lordships the whole state of the legal proceedings, which I believe are no less erroneous and invalid than those have already been declared to be, which respected the out-lawry. The meeting of parliament will suspend the important, public cause against *lord Halifax*, which cannot be tried till the term following the next prorogation.

I look forward, gentlemen, to the happy moment of regaining my freedom, and of giving you in a British senate the clearest demonstration that the principles of liberty have taken a deep root in my heart. You shall find me a faithful guardian of the civil and religious liberties of the people of England, strenuous and unwearied in my endeavours to destroy all the remains of despotic power among our free-born countrymen. I shall think it a glorious reward of my toils, if in one instance only, a point of the utmost moment, *grand juries* may thro' my efforts recover the power and right given them by the first principles of the constitution, which are at present entirely lost in the mode of proceeding by *information*, so long, to the great grievance of the subject, practis'd both by the attorney general, and the judges of the court of king's bench. In this, and every other point of national liberty,

I shall earnestly beg your assistance. I hope at all times in public business to have the advantage of your counsels to perfect the plan of securing and guarding the liberties of the freest nation in the world, against future attacks of wicked ministers, or even encroachments of the crown; which security can only be obtained by the most wholesome laws and the wisest regulations, built on the firm basis of *magna charta*, the great preserver of the lives, freedom, and property of *Englishmen*.

I am, Gentlemen,

Under encreasing obligations,

Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

King's Bench Prison,
Thursday, Nov. 3, 1768.

JOHN WILKES.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

An enquiry into the Doctrine lately propagated concerning attachments of contempt, the alteration of records, and the court of star-chamber. 4to. 5s. Williams.

WELL worthy the perusal of the gentlemen of the law; and indeed of every person who would form a tolerable judgment upon some late transactions, which, by the doctrine laid down in this book, and which seems to be the true constitutional doctrine of England, have been arbitrary, oppressive and illegal. The following extract concerning the alteration of records may perhaps not be unacceptable: "Motion in arrest of judgment on an indictment for libelling the government, and the objection made was, for that the charge, which was laid to the defendant, was not so certain and particular as it ought to be, for the libels were not set forth in *hæc verba*, as they ought, neither was the defendant charged directly with writing or making the very words and sentences expressed in the indictment, but only that he made and wrote *libels*, in which among others, was contained "according to the *tenor*" and "to the *purport* (*Carth.* 408. 3 *Salk.* 226. *pl.* 5.) following." After the above case had depended in the king's bench several terms, and after it had been several times argued at the bar, it was argued by Holt chief justice, Rokeby and Turton justices, upon solemn argument on the (*Lord Raym.*

Raym. 415.) bench, that if the indictment had been for a *libel*, containing, among others, "to the *purport* following," it had been (11 *Mod.* 218. 3 *Salk.* 226. *pl.* 5.) ill, because it had not imported, that the words were the specific words which were in the (*Lord Raym.* 415. 3 *Salk.* 226. *pl.* 5.) *libel*. The court must be judge of the words *themselves*, and not of the construction the *prosecutor* puts upon them, but "according to the *tenor* following" imports the very words (11 *Mod.* 79. 85. 96. 3 *Salk.* 226. *pl.* 5.) themselves. For the *tenor* of a thing is the (2 *Salk.* 661. 3 *Salk.* 225. 226. *pl.* 5.) *transcript*; and Rokeby said the words "to the *purport*," were loose and *useless* words; and the words "according to the *tenor*" being of a certain and more strict signification, the force of the latter was not hurt by the former, which Holt chief justice agreed (2 *Salk.* 417.) to; and if on the trial, the words in the *libel* had not been *exactly* the same, with the words in the *indictment*, the defendant could not have been found guilty (12 *Mod.* 218. 219. 3 *Salk.* 225.)

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whimsical event at a Marlborough inn. On the death of Sir H. Bellendine. On Mr. Churchill's death. Cure for the king's evil. Verses in a cottage. The e—l of N——n's coat. Elegy on Admiral Byng. Imitation of Ode IX. Book IV. of Horace. Elegy on lady Aberg—n—y. Mr. Garrick to a gentleman. On the new buildings near the Royal Exchange. The mirror of Knighthood. Curse of Avarice. Epigram. The honest confession. The morning visit. Dialogue at lady Ramble's. A modern glossary. On the ladies head dress in 1768. Song for the Mall. On the Templars. Answer. Description of Dublin. Sketch of Paris. Bachelor's choice of a wife. Female complaint. On a lady's reading rubrics for b--bb--s. Miss Courtney to Miss Conolly. Ruins of Pomfret castle. Humourous advertisements. The city farce. British ambassadors's speech. On L. B's being appointed G. of Virginia. Manners, by P. Whitehead, Esq; Honour, by the same. State dunces, by the same. Hit or miss. Scots decree. Modern plaid-wearers. Epigram. On losing to lady H——n at loo. Way to be wife, by Soame Jenyns, Esq; To any minister or great man. Advice to lord Rockingham. Fables for grown gentlemen. Lyric epistles, by the same. A sentimental dialogue between two souls.

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